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The Southern Speech Journal

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ACADEMIC STATUS SEEKERS

JOSEPH WETHERBY

A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO Vance Packard published his book *The Status Seekers*, and to him I am indebted for the title of this address. You will remember that Packard sets out to explore "what happens to class distinctions among people when most of them are enjoying a long period of material abundance." He found that in our democratic society we have arranged ourselves in a rather fluid class system, and engaged ourselves in a mad pursuit of *status*.

This elusive *status* is symbolized by where we live—a split-level house is a must; the car we drive—a Cadillac is recommended, although I would guess that now the largest compact car in the block would be the thing. Such trifles as a college degree are important, and we should, if we seek status, be Episcopalian, although in a pinch, being Presbyterian will do. The status seeker should also be Republican, unless he happens to be an egghead, in which case "being a Democrat is the chic and daring thing to do."

Occupation is an important factor. Here the professions arrange themselves according to the importance of the task performed, the authority and responsibility of the job, the knowledge required, the brains necessary, the dignity of the position, and the financial rewards of the occupation.

How about the educators—those of us in the grey flannel cap and gown? Using these criteria we come off rather well. Although we haven't quite reached the lofty place enjoyed by some European professors who rank with, but below, a cabinet minister, Mr. Packard

Mr. Wetherby is an Associate Professor and Director of Debate at Duke University. This article is an adaptation of Mr. Wetherby's presidential address at the 1961 convention of the Southern Speech Association in Miami, Florida.

places us above staff sergeants and bank clerks, but below bishops and generals.

In the academic profession our status symbols run to musty, leatherbound books and old bicycles rather than split-level houses and fender fins. Position in the scholarly hierarchy is, fortunately, more likely to be determined by prolific writing than by abundant material rewards. However, status is also conferred by the academic discipline with which the professor is identified.

Any attempt to arrange an academic pecking order is subject to the usual pitfalls of generalization, but perhaps we can classify in a broad manner. At the top we might place the professional faculties of medicine, law, and the like; and, since sputnik, we could also add the physicists. Next might come the physical sciences, mathematics and engineering—followed by the social sciences, the humanities, and so on. To avoid possible recriminations, I hesitate to clearly define the lower end of the scale.

Many factors contribute to professional status, but I would like to examine only two. By and large, students with real ability gravitate toward the prestige fields, attracted by the standing of the field itself. The presence of those superior minds in the discipline add to its luster, thus providing it with a built-in self-perpetuation. This benevolent circle, fortunately, works to the advantage of the profession as a whole as there is a tendency for the really superior student to choose the academic life.

The second factor may seem contradictory to the previous one, but it really is not. If we were to construct a composite picture of the professor with status, we would envision him as a man who publishes, who does research, and who is called to Washington to advise in governmental affairs. He goes abroad to study and, when he happens to be on campus, he serves as chairman of the more pretentious committees. He spends little time in the classroom and then only with a select few students. If he is not one of this peripatetic breed he devotes himself to research, assisted by carefully chosen advanced graduate students. From this we could establish a law, Wetherby's law of academic status: *Professional status is directly proportionate to remoteness from the undergraduate student.*

Now, the question arises, what is the status of speech; where does the speech teacher fit into this hierarchy? In order to get an answer to this question, I conducted an informal survey. *Survey* means that I asked around among non-speech colleagues, and in-

formal means that I was not bothered with the charts, graphs, and correlations so dear to the heart of the statistician.

The results were interesting. First, I had to discount what the public opinion pollsters refer to as "no opinion." These included those colleagues who were artfully vague and changed the subject and those who said, "Speech, what's that?" There was also the kind soul who assured me that we rated high with him, uttered some approving words about Delsarte, and tottered on.

The upshot of my questioning was that the field of speech and those concerned with it do not rank very high in the academic order. Assuredly, speech was not at the bottom, but it was somewhere between physical education and English—perhaps along with Packard's "teachers of ballet."

Some of the answers to my questions were disturbing. Several colleagues expressed concern that they didn't really know enough about what we do to form an accurate judgment. Oh, they went to the plays, knew about the debating team, and had heard of clinical work; but what do we do in the classroom, they asked, how do we go about teaching someone to speak? Another, a teacher of "Rhetoric," asked, "What could one possibly do for graduate work? Where were areas for research?"

Now, do we want to achieve a higher standing? Psychologists look on status with an approving eye, and tell us it is greatly desired by man and beast. Fortunes are made on Madison Avenue selling it.

One way of achieving higher status would be, following Wetherby's law, to divorce ourselves from close contact with the students we now have. We could give up the production of plays and concentrate on dramatic criticism and literature. We could shut our clinics and retire to the laboratory. We could forego the teaching of oral reading and study the rhythms of prose and poetry. We could close our broadcasting stations and write papers on the history and theory of mass communication. We could teach the theory and history of public address and never travel with another debate team. This is a great price to pay to find favor in the eyes of our colleagues. Is it worth the sacrifice?

Another method might be to attach ourselves to some other field that seems to be higher on the scale. Because speech cuts across many other disciplines, we could easily find a niche in medicine, law, physics, sociology, psychology, English and many other areas.

This is being done and is, perhaps, one of the forces presently fragmenting our field. This is dangerous. It destroys our cohesion, and leads at best to second-class citizenship in the other field.

These are things we *could* do. But what *should* we do? Let me take you back two years to the convention of the Southern Speech Association in Louisville and remind you of what our president, Hardy Perritt, said in his memorable presidential address. He pointed out these "signs of the times in the speech field."

First, that we seem to have forgotten Sarett and Foster's first principle that "effective speech is not for exhibition but for communication."

Second, the proliferation of speech contests and the questionable ethical principles of those involved.

Third, the fragmentation and proliferation of courses and professional groups.

Fourth, the notable lack of significant scholarships in the field.

Like Dr. Perritt, I love the field and I also have given most of my life to it. In the course of my professional duties I not only teach speech courses, but also coach and direct broadcasting activities. I am a certified member of the American Speech and Hearing Association, and have directed plays and built scenery for them. What I say is in the nature of self-criticism and I plead guilty to my own accusations.

Keeping in mind the "signs of the times," these are some of the things we *could* do; indeed, these are things we *must* do, status or no, if we are to maintain respectability in our academic order:

First, we must choose our majoring students with great care, particularly on the graduate level. We are known by the company we keep, and too often a student gravitates to speech because he has a flair for performance which is not reinforced by academic achievement. He does not understand the difference between exhibition and communication, a distinction he probably is incapable of comprehending. He goes his merry way and eventually is handed a sheepskin by a reluctant dean, occasionally becomes a competent performer, but certainly is no academic credit to the speech field. Let us tighten our standards and eliminate this marginal student.

On the other side of the coin is the superior student. Unless there is intellectual challenge in speech courses, he isn't going to be interested and he isn't looking for "crip" courses.

The past two years have not seen any retrenchment in the

number of contests. I have been trying to start a debate tournament myself but am hard put to find a weekend free from major debate encumbrances. The day of the leisurely, four-round meet is over. Now we get our money's worth with six to nine rounds. Trophies get bigger and shinier every season. That season, incidentally, runs from October to June. But the picture isn't all black. This is an activity that provides an outlet to the superior student and, as enrollments increase, we will get even better students. I think this is evident in an ever-improving quality of debating. We have an obligation to guard against superficiality and make this a worth-while activity.

The third danger area is our tendency to explode in all directions, leaving a trail of academic debris consisting of a myriad of courses and organizations. This is natural and historical as we cut across the trail of so many other subjects. Speaking of rhetoric, Plato asked: "Tell me then, what is its subject matter?" Aristotle answered, "It is concerned with such things within the general ken of all men and belongs to no definite science." As we go into our subject more deeply we are likely to feel the need for more and more courses in specific areas, and often these courses come close to the territory staked out by another field. We need to examine expansion with a skeptical eye and perhaps make greater use of other disciplines rather than fighting them. Another danger is that these other areas, for the same reason, will come into direct competition with us. Courses in discussion or the social effects of broadcasting may be found in the offerings of the sociology department. Foreign and bi-lingual students are taught spoken English in departments of English, foreign language, or linguistics. An administrator may be made dizzy by this confusion of rival claims. We should hold fast to what Andrew Weaver called the "golden thread of common essence," of social adaptation through voice.

There is still much we should be doing in the field of scholarship. Our journals are improving. Our textbooks are showing maturity. I am happy to see that some of the writers no longer consider it necessary to devote their first chapter to an explanation of why the student should be taking a speech course. But much more can be done, particularly in our contributions to publications in other fields. Here is one way we can answer the question, "What do you do in speech courses?" Here we can show where our research areas lie. Here we can demonstrate that there is more to the field than "how-

to-do-it" techniques. But, we must be sure to establish our identity with the speech field.

I am not overly concerned with the status of speech. I do not think we have to join the frantic search for academic status symbols. The true teacher, and there are probably more of them in the field of speech than any other, is not interested in where he stands in the other man's scale, but in how effective he is in his job. The true scholar, and speech has its share, does what he has to do and leaves his status to take care of itself.

JOHN J. CRITTENDEN DEFENDS A "SCOUNDREL"

DONALD W. ZACHARIAS

ON APRIL 18, 1854, a display of "Kentucky chivalry and gallantry, 'brave men and beautiful women,'" commenced in Elizabethtown, Kentucky, where Matthew F. Ward, the son of a wealthy Louisville merchant, was on trial.¹ Nine days later John J. Crittenden delivered the final appeal for the acquittal of Ward, charged with the murder of William H. G. Butler on November 2, 1853.² "The accused is before you in a house of Kentucky justice," declared Crittenden, "and all vengeance must cease to pursue him at this threshold. This is his sanctuary. . . ."³ Spectators meanwhile, pressed against the doors and windows of the courtroom to hear the latest harangue, and reporters, barred from publishing daily accounts of the trial, feverishly transcribed the speech of the "volunteer" counsel for the defense.⁴ Throughout the state, and especially in Louisville, newspaper editors nervously waited to announce the verdict they had long advocated: "Matt Ward—guilty of premeditated murder."

The tragic chain of events began on November 1, 1853, when Butler, principal of the Louisville High School, whipped Matt's youngest brother, William, for lying. Incensed by the "severely and unjustly" administered chastisement, William ran from the school shaking his head and saying it was "a d—d mean trick."⁵ The following day he returned to the high school accompanied by his two brothers, Matt and Robert J. Ward, Jr., and waited at his desk while his brothers demanded an apology from Butler. Unwilling to discuss the incident before the other students, Butler requested that the two

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¹*Daily Cincinnati Gazette*, April 20, 1854.

²Lewis Collins, *History of Kentucky*, revised by Richard H. Collins (Louisville, 1924), I, 38.

³Mrs. Chapman Coleman, *The Life of John J. Crittenden* (Philadelphia, 1871), II, 69.

⁴George Cole, *Trial of Matt. F. Ward, for the Murder of Prof. W. H. G. Butler, before the Hardin Criminal Court, April Term, 1854*. (Louisville, 1854), p. 10.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 172.

Wards step into his office adjoining the classroom. Matt refused the offer, saying that the site of the whipping was the place to discuss it. "You," Matt raged, "called my brother a liar, and for that I must have an apology."⁶ The men argued, a shot thundered through the schoolroom, and Butler, clutching Matt's single-barreled pistol, slumped to the floor. Early the following morning Butler died, and the Wards, already in custody, awaited trial for committing one of the most noted crimes in the annals of Kentucky history.

During the six months preceding the trial, the newspapers trumpeted this story of crime involving one of Louisville's leading families throughout the entire state and nation. Robert J. Ward, a life-long friend of Crittenden, saw his sons tried and convicted by the press. "We must say," confidently reported the *Madison Daily Banner*, "from a perusal of the evidence before the examining Court that it would be hard to conceive a more premeditated and deliberate murder."⁷ Indignation grew throughout Louisville where the *Courier* said, "The affair is generally regarded as of a most atrocious and unprovoked character. . . ."⁸ Disagreeing with the other newspapers, the *Louisville Times* assured its readers that "the law is sufficiently emphatic" for punishing the criminals.⁹

Many people in Kentucky and southern Indiana cast their votes with the *Madison Daily Banner* and argued that the press should speak out against "the inequality of punishment that is meted out to the rich and the poor."¹⁰ The newspapers continually eulogized the "kind, gentle" Butler and vilified the "wealthy" Matt Ward. The Madison vicinity buzzed with sympathy for Butler's family, and the Philaethean Society of nearby Hanover College passed numerous resolutions praising the murdered teacher, a former member of their society, for his brilliance and amiable personality.¹¹ The *Madison Daily Banner* even expressed mild sorrow for the slayer who must hear his conscience repeat the words of his dying victim, "Oh! my poor wife and my child!"¹² Other newspapers denounced Robert Ward's defense moves for his sons. "Every effort that money can secure," the *Indiana State Journal* warned, "will be made to

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁷November 5, 1853.

⁸Quoted in *Frankfort Commonwealth*, November 8, 1853.

⁹Quoted in *Madison Daily Banner*, November 10, 1853.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹*Madison Daily Banner*, November 29, 1853.

¹²November 5, 1853.

clear Ward. . . Every lawyer of Louisville, of any note, has been employed in the defence."¹³ Parroting the newspapers' favorite theme of the wealthy against the law, the *Journal* reasoned, "Had some poor and friendless wretch committed the deed he would have been strung up without a trial."¹⁴

Louisville citizens almost contradicted the *Journal* when they stormed the Jefferson County Jail and threatened to execute Matt Ward without a hearing.¹⁵ Because of this excitement in the county, the Wards soon made an appeal for a change of venue before George W. Kinney, Justice of the Peace. "The above," a Madison newspaper charged, "is the first move in the code of tactics that is commonly resorted to in these days by murderers to elude justice."¹⁶ In an atmosphere of open hostility and resentment, the court granted the Wards a change of venue to the Hardin County Circuit Court and transferred them to the Elizabethtown jail on February 1, 1854.¹⁷

At the time of the murder and great excitement in Louisville, John J. Crittenden, the Ward lawyer who was later most viciously denounced for appearing at the trial, was visiting friends and "receiving compliments" in St. Louis.¹⁸ With Henry Clay's death, Crittenden became the champion of Whiggery in Kentucky and enjoyed unparalleled prestige among Whigs throughout the nation. From 1848 to 1850 he aided the party while serving as governor of Kentucky. To further enhance his prestige, Crittenden resigned as governor to accept an appointment as U.S. Attorney-General in President Fillmore's cabinet where he served from 1850-1853.¹⁹ In December, 1854, Kentucky honored him again when the legislature appointed him U. S. Senator to fill an unexpired term. Welcoming his return to Washington, the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* hailed Crittenden as "a wise, patriotic and accomplished man—just such as is now needed [sic] in the national legislature. . . ."²⁰

¹³Quoted in *Madison Daily Banner*, November 23, 1853.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵*Frankfort Commonwealth*, November 8, 1853.

¹⁶*Madison Daily Banner*, December 17, 1853.

¹⁷Robert G. McMurtry, *A Series of Monographs Concerning the Lincolns and Hardin County, Kentucky* (Elizabethtown, 1938), p. 111.

¹⁸*Frankfort Commonwealth*, November 22, 1853.

¹⁹Franklin Pierce to Crittenden, March 4, 1853, Mrs. Chapman Coleman, *The Life of John J. Crittenden* (Philadelphia, 1871), II, 58.

²⁰Quoted in *Frankfort Commonwealth*, November 29, 1853.

His popularity among Whigs throughout the country was so high that many people considered Crittenden his party's next candidate for the Presidency. "There is a feeling here [Washington] among the Whigs," Archibald Dixon told him, "to run you for the Presidency."²¹ Crittenden's firm stand, voiced in local speeches, against the attempted repeal of the Missouri Compromise evoked praise from many Whigs. His friend Tom Corwin wrote him "... you know that many—very many—desire you to allow yourself to be made President of this model republic."²² Newspapers like the *Lexington* (Missouri) *Express* and the *Madison Daily Banner*, recognizing his acceptability to both the North and the South, joined the movement urging Crittenden's nomination.²³ His own reluctance, however, to declare himself a candidate, coupled with the gradual disintegration of the Whig party and with his role in the Ward trial, soon eliminated him from consideration.

Ironically, during this period of public acclaim, a "chance" meeting in Louisville and a personal letter to Matt Ward combined to bring Crittenden the most bitter censure he had ever known. "Some days after the tragical event, . . ." Crittenden told his colleagues, "I was in Louisville, and happened to meet with Mr. Robert J. Ward on the street. . . for thirty years there had been a constant social and friendly intercourse between us."²⁴ Ward, according to Crittenden, was deeply troubled by the "popular excitement" against his sons. In the course of their conversation, Ward revealed that he had written a letter soon after the shooting, requesting the newly-appointed Senator to defend his sons, but Matt, fearing that Crittenden might also feel the pressure of all the "prejudice and burning excitement" if he accepted, destroyed the letter. Discounting the worries expressed by the Wards, Crittenden replied that he would appear as a counsel for Matt and Robert, Jr. "... if nothing occurred in the meantime to prevent it."²⁵ The agreement remained strictly verbal until a month before the trial when Crittenden wrote Matt at the Elizabethtown jail and offered to appear. Matt quickly accepted his offer, completing one of the most impressive lists of lawyers ever to appear before a Kentucky

²¹Archibald Dixon to Crittenden, February 7, 1854, Coleman, *op. cit.*, II, 60.

²²Tom Corwin to Crittenden, March 10, 1854, *Ibid.*, 63.

²³*Madison Daily Banner*, December 20, 1853.

²⁴To members of the bar practicing before the Kentucky Court of Appeals, December 30, 1854, Coleman, *op. cit.*, II, 99.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 100.

bar.²⁶ Crittenden made no public announcement of his interest in the trial until after Matt wrote on April 1 requesting his permission to tell the newspapers of the latest development.²⁷ Although an Elizabethtown and a Lexington newspaper announced Crittenden's entry in the trial with laudatory remarks, most people adopted an acquiescent attitude and waited patiently for Matt Ward to receive the sentence they believed he rightly deserved.²⁸ The majority still opined that all the lawyers the Wards had mustered could not overcome the tremendous weight of testimony destined to convict the murderer.

Once committed to the trial, Crittenden devoted all his judicial abilities and personal energy to the task of winning Matt's acquittal. He arrived in Elizabethtown four days early and spent the time "in intercourse with clients, in consultations with lawyers, examinations of books, etc."²⁹ The appearance of so noted a lawyer produced a "flattering reception" and a special consolation for the Wards, who seemed to view the Senator's presence as "an assurance of security and relief." Crittenden, however, did not share their feeling of tranquility, nor did he promise them the verdict they desired. He abhorred the "excitement and prejudice" in the country against the Wards and feared the "bitterness" of the prosecution. Plunging himself into preparation for a great criminal trial, he never wrote of any special techniques the defense intended to use. In intimate letters to his wife he mentioned only the constant hours spent in research and consultation. Before the trial began, he apparently foresaw little hope for the acquittal of the Wards.

Although many Kentuckians expressed surprise that Crittenden agreed to assist the Wards, no one was sufficiently bitter to censure him at this time. They were more shocked by his "volunteering" than by his appearing. Numerous newspapers had warned the public to expect from the Wards an exhaustive attempt, legal or

²⁶Matthew F. Ward to Crittenden, March 17, 1854, John J. Crittenden MSS, Library of Congress. Lawyers for the prosecution: Alfred Allen, R. B. Carpenter, Sylvester Harris, and T. W. Gibson; for the defense: Crittenden, John L. Helm, Thomas F. Marshall, George A. Caldwell, Nathaniel Wolfe, T. W. Riley, C. G. Wintersmith, J. W. Hays, and R. B. Hays.

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸Coleman, *op. cit.*, II, 101. *Kentucky Register* quoted in *The Daily Union*, April 22, 1854. "... Mr. Crittenden would never volunteer to defend a bad man, much less a murderer."

²⁹Crittenden to his wife Elizabeth, April 17, 1854, *Ibid.*, p. 66.

³⁰*Ibid.*

illegal, to save their sons.³¹ Most of the public, therefore, saw Crittenden as another vain piece of strategy. No one, least of all Crittenden, could have predicted the far-reaching consequences of his participation in the trial.

The state opened its case against the Wards on Tuesday morning, April 18, 1854, over five and one half months after the fatal shooting, but still in the midst of flaming public indignation, constantly fanned by the press. The modest city of Elizabethtown bulged with curious spectators, numerous reporters, noted lawyers, and a legion of witnesses, scheduled to attest to the "amiable" personality of Matt Ward.³² The immense crowd and the small courtroom prompted presiding Judge Kincheloe to order no one admitted except "the officers of the Court, the members of the bar, and the witnesses." Immediately Alfred Allen, the prosecuting attorney, moved that the ever vigilant reporters be admitted. Fearing that the daily publication would prevent a "fair and impartial trial," Thomas Helm, defense counsel, consented to admitting the reporters but requested that they be prohibited from publishing their notes until the expiration of the trial. The court granted his wish and gave the reporters a conditional admittance.³³

Throughout the trial the defense counsel, led by Crittenden, Wolfe, Helm, and Marshall, tried gallantly, in the face of overwhelming contradictory evidence, to convince the jury that Matt Ward shot Butler in self-defense. Crittenden, on the eve of the last day of the trial, was confident that much of the prosecution's evidence had been refuted. "I feel quite certain the verdict cannot be against Mr. Ward," he told his wife, "and I believe it will be in his favor."³⁴ Filled with renewed confidence from limited battle in the courtroom and driven by personal ambition to win acquittal for the Wards, Crittenden spent many hours preparing his final speech, his major effort for the defense. The *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, meanwhile, reported that everyone in Elizabethtown was awaiting a "great speech" from Crittenden.³⁵

The next morning the Senator stood before the jury and pleaded, "May the God of all mercy. . . assist you in the performance of your

³¹*Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, April 20, 1854.

³²*Daily Union*, April 19, 1854, estimated the number of witnesses to be between 120 to 150.

³³Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

³⁴Coleman, *op. cit.*, II, 67.

³⁵April 27, 1854.

duty, and teach you to judge your fellow-being as you hope to be judged hereafter!"³⁶ Interweaving flurries of common rhetorical devices, he touched at considerable length upon each of the defense's three major contentions. Crittenden argued that Ward was an "amiable" and feeble man, suffering from rheumatism; he carried a newly purchased set of pistols only for self-defense, often the custom in Louisville, and bought them primarily for his trip to the South; and Ward shot Butler, his superior physically, in self-defense. On the last point he quoted from Lord Bacon, Judge Blackstone, and Wharton's *American Criminal Law*. "I think you understand the principle," he summarized, "that the law holds all such bloodshed justifiable,—though blamable, yet excusable."³⁷ With one minor exception his arguments dealt with the facts in the case. At one point Crittenden alluded to a light-hearted conversation Matt and Robert supposedly had on their way to commit "a murder" after they met a famous lady lecturer of the day strolling down the street. Referring to Crittenden's use of this evidence, one critic said, ". . . even Lucy Stone in her bloomer dress, was used with telling effect for the benefit of the defendant."³⁸

In the peroration he asked the jury to perform its duty "calmly and dispassionately, remembering that vengeance can give no satisfaction to any human being."³⁹ Crittenden tempered numerous references to deity with calls for critical judgment and thorough analysis. He flavored his judicial tangents with drops of "It is the blood of a Kentuckian you are called upon to shed."⁴⁰ In closing, Crittenden explained why he had "volunteered" to aid the defense. ". . . in the recollection of the past—in the memory of our early intercourse—in the ties that bound us together," he said simply, "I thought there was sufficient cause to render it proper, whose business is it?"⁴¹ To him, but not to his enemies, the matter was closed.

When the lawyer with "a voice of great compass and power" turned from the jury, the crowd, gathered to hear one of its favorite Kentucky orators, "commenced a vigorous applause." Even Alfred

³⁶Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 150; Coleman, *op. cit.*, II, 96.

³⁷Coleman *op. cit.*, II, 89.

³⁸L. Frank Johnson, *Famous Kentucky Tragedies and Trials* (Louisville, 1916), p. 171.

³⁹Coleman, *op. cit.*, II, 96.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

Allen, the prosecuting attorney, felt the weight of Crittenden's pleas, and upon rising to deliver the final speech of the trial commented, "I follow one of our most talented and eloquent men in one of his ablest efforts."⁴² Later he added that he thought "one man could not in a lifetime make two such speeches as the one he had just heard."⁴³

Allen attempted to offset the arguments supported by Crittenden. He told the jury the prisoner had "powerful friends," but his only claim for mercy was "the mercy he showed to others."⁴⁴ As soon as Judge Kincheloe delivered his charge, the jury retired. Since it had not received the case until nearly 5 P.M., the jury conferred for only thirty minutes before the court recessed and, therefore, had no opportunity to give a verdict until Thursday morning.

The crowds in Elizabethtown, meanwhile, reviewed the trial on the street corners and in the taverns; the newspapers continued to speculate the outcome and to report the atmosphere surrounding the Hardin County Court. "The almost universal impression at Elizabethtown," reported the *Frankfort Commonwealth*, an ardent supporter of Crittenden, "is that the jury would disagree, and no verdict be found."⁴⁵ Pessimistically, the *Cincinnati Enquirer* told its readers, "We shall not now be surprised to hear of Ward's acquittal, or, probably, only his conviction of manslaughter."⁴⁶ The *Daily Cincinnati Gazette*, publicly pledged to objective reporting of the trial said plainly, ". . . a more deliberate case of murder was never made out than is made out by published evidence."⁴⁷ But, neither the people in Hardin County nor the newspapers scattered throughout the country could issue the verdict. Only the men who had sat through nine days of legal wrangling and lengthy oratory could issue the final edict.

"The jury," the stunned *Weekly Union* said, "was out with the case but five minutes."⁴⁸ The court reports, however, showed the *Union* apparently misread a telegraph message, for at nearly nine

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁴³Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 177; "The speech of Mr. Crittenden is said to be the most able he ever made," reported the *Daily Cincinnati Gazette*, April 29, 1854.

⁴⁴Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

⁴⁵May 2, 1854.

⁴⁶April 20, 1854.

⁴⁷April 26, 1854.

⁴⁸May 4, 1854.

o'clock the following morning the jury announced its verdict of not guilty, arousing bitterness throughout Kentucky and shocking the rest of the nation. What many had predicted had actually happened; the Wards were free, but cursed.

"As not only the Wards, but Kentucky is on trial in this case," the prophetic *St. Louis Republican* reported, "great anxiety will be felt in the result."⁴⁹ On Friday morning the Louisville newspapers published "the iniquitous verdict" and touched off "an intense excitement," halting all the business activities in the city except those of an arms merchant who sold out of pistols and bowie knives, now called "Kentucky Statutes." The citizens felt their city and the laws of Kentucky had been indelibly stained by Nat Wolfe, a defense lawyer, who allegedly referred to "the bloodhounds of Louisville" in his speech to the jury. Angered by "the miscarriage of justice," several dignitaries of Louisville published an announcement in the *Courier* the following morning, requesting all citizens interested in erecting a monument to Professor Butler to meet that night at the courthouse. At "early gas light" a crowd of eight to ten thousand people gathered to hear more oratory and to sanction the passage of the first resolutions against the Hardin County Circuit Court, the defense lawyers, and the Wards. For a while the meeting was orderly, but the leaders of the mob soon replaced their more dignified counterparts, and order gave way to violence.⁵⁰

The mob worked itself into a frenzy and demanded that the "two Wards" leave the city, Nat Wolfe resign his seat in the state senate, and Crittenden relinquish his appointed place in the U. S. Senate. Tired of resolutions, the crowd turned to burning effigies of the Wards, Wolfe, Crittenden, Barlow, the jury, and many others who had incurred their wrath during the trial. One boisterous group stoned the Robert J. Ward residence and nearly burned the home by throwing a flaming effigy against the front door. Another crowd marched to Wolfe's home and pelted it with rocks and "forty dozen eggs." Although nearly everyone in Louisville strongly denounced the verdict, they did not excuse or defend the "lawless depredations" committed upon the homes.⁵¹

The verdict brought censure, epithets, and resolutions from all over the country. "If he had been a negro, a poor man, a foreigner,"

⁴⁹Quoted in *Frankfort Commonwealth*, April 25, 1854.

⁵⁰Cole, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-8. *Daily Cincinnati Gazette*, May 1, 1854.

⁵¹Cole, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-8. *The Daily Union*, May 3, 1854.

the *Weekly Indiana State Journal* asserted, "he would have been hung even in Kentucky. The verdict has probably saved the Governor the trouble of pardoning Ward."⁵² A visiting Frenchman, somewhat bewildered by the outcome, wrote his friends, "In any other American state, at least on this side of the Mississippi, the murderer would have been hanged, I suppose."⁵³ Repeating its pre-trial theme, an Indianapolis newspaper saw the verdict as "a demonstration of the feebleness of the law against wealth and family influence."⁵⁴ At Stephensburg, Kentucky, an "honest" juror was hanged in effigy with a saddle on his arm, symbolic of the saddle he once received for his vote. At the same meeting the remainder of the jury and the sheriff were asked to leave the county.⁵⁵ In Hanover, Indiana, Butler's former home, a large number of citizens and students assembled and "burnt" John J. Crittenden, Nat Wolfe, and the jury in effigy.⁵⁶ In addition to these denunciations of the principals in the trial, Crittenden himself received increasing personal censure during the following weeks.

The national press turned upon the man it had once believed in line for the Whig party's highest nomination. "No man in the South, among the Whigs, stood a fairer chance for the Presidency than he did," lamented the *Pittsburgh Gazette*. "He was spoken of at the North with great favor for that office. Now he could not carry one Northern State."⁵⁷ Newspapers charged that he had lost the "respect and confidence" of the people. They contended that Crittenden had disgraced Kentucky and was no longer "worthy" to represent her. Agreeing that Crittenden was a "used-up man" with his own party, the *Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer* reported he had lost "a 'smart chance' to be the next unlucky Whig candidate for the White House. . .by his connection with the Ward outrage."⁵⁸ Brandenburg, Kentucky, citizens accused him of mingling his name and influence in the "rescue of a bloody murderer" and warned that the "sovereign people will speak to you trumpet-

⁵²May 6, 1854.

⁵³Leo Lesquereux, "Daniel Boone and the Kentucky Character in 1855—A Letter from America," translated by Joseph B. Rivlin, *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, XV (October, 1941), 223.

⁵⁴*Weekly Indiana State Journal*, May 6, 1854.

⁵⁵*Weekly Indiana State Journal*, May 13, 1854.

⁵⁶*Madison Daily Courier*, May 9, 1854.

⁵⁷Quoted in *Ibid.*

⁵⁸May 4, 1854.

tongued hereafter."⁵⁹ A resolution from Madison, Indiana, claimed Crittenden had "prostituted" his great talents by aiding the Wards and, therefore, should be asked not to speak at the next annual fair as originally scheduled.⁶⁰ Regardless of the source or the severity of the attack, no act brought upon Crittenden "so much bitter censure and actual abuse" as his volunteering as counsel for the Wards.⁶¹

As planned several weeks before going to Elizabethtown, Crittenden and his wife left Kentucky on May 1 to attend the National Medical Convention in St. Louis. A few days after the convention opened, several newspapers published conflicting reports of another insult to him. The convention found itself confused about a point of order during an opening session. A member suggested that Crittenden, then present in the audience, was an old parliamentarian and should be asked to decide the point. "A spontaneous and general hiss filled the room," the *Weekly Ohio Statesman* reported and then added the editorial comment, "Alas how fallen—how abject."⁶² The *St. Louis Morning Herald*, once a great admirer of Crittenden, placing him next to "Harry of the West," said he was "actually hissed out of the National Medical Convention. This is one of the most unkind cuts a distinguished stranger ever received in St. Louis."⁶³ However, the pro-Crittenden *Louisville Journal*, edited by George D. Prentice who testified for the defense at the Ward trial, explained that everyone at the convention understood that the objection to the motion was simply that it would be an injurious reflection and even an insult upon the presiding officer. "Nothing like disrespect to Mr. Crittenden," the *Journal* explained, "was dreamed of for one moment."⁶⁴

Charged with "purveying some of the piffle so often heard at trials of criminals," Crittenden's adversaries said he willfully distorted evidence, misused his position, and put the weight of his high character and talents "into the scale against a fair trial." Many of his friends, however, began defending him from the public charges while he was still in St. Louis. "He had the same right to use his

⁵⁹*Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 9, 1854.

⁶⁰*Madison Daily Courier*, May 1, 1854.

⁶¹Coleman, *op. cit.*, II, 97. L. Frank Johnson, *History of Franklin County, Kentucky* (Frankfort, 1912), p. 47.

⁶²May 16, 1854.

⁶³Quoted in *Cleveland Daily Plain Dealer*, May 12, 1854.

⁶⁴Quoted in *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 12, 1854.

greater power for any purpose," a friendly Indianapolis newspaper reasoned, "that others had to use their lesser power for the same purpose."⁶⁵ Richard M. Corwine, writing in the *Cincinnati Gazette*, heartily approved the Senator's actions.⁶⁶ Slowly his friends began to renounce the public indignation against him and attempted to restore him to his former place of prominence.

Satirically, the *Madison Daily Courier* announced to the public that Crittenden some years earlier had volunteered to defend "the notorious swindler and forger, Munroe Edwards, who was convicted in New York," and asked, "Does he go about seeking scoundrels whom he may volunteer to defend?"⁶⁷ "J. J. Crittenden," the *Louisville Journal* answered, "once volunteered to defend a poor nigger by the name of Goins. Those who dislike his late action, and can admit a set-off in matters of morality, may balance one against the other."⁶⁸ With influential friends rallying to his side, Crittenden spent the next months allaying the prejudice excited against him. In a letter to Logan Hunton published in the *New Orleans Picayune*, he explained that his role in the case was strictly a professional one. He told his colleagues and friends that everything he had said was "within the strictest limits of an honest and honorable discharge" of his professional duty. Assuring Hunton that he had nothing to do with the preparation of the case or the selection of the jury, Crittenden repeated his statement that a life-long friendship with the Ward family caused him to sympathize with them. Furthermore, he entered the trial because he believed there were "circumstances of more mitigation and excuse in the case than rumor seemed to allow."⁶⁹

In September, 1854, Crittenden was still explaining his reasons for participating in the Ward Trial although his friends had long since pardoned him. His bitterest enemies, who had acted boldly when covered by the crowds, gradually discontinued their attacks after the Wards left the state and welcomed the opportunity to forget "the miscarriage of justice." Kentucky's elder statesman had suffered an irreparable blow to his prestige. Only years of

⁶⁵*Weekly Indiana State Journal*, May 13, 1854.

⁶⁶May 22, 1854.

⁶⁷May 2, 1854.

⁶⁸Quoted in *Weekly Indiana State Journal*, May 27, 1854.

⁶⁹Crittenden to Hunton, May 14, 1854, Coleman, *op. cit.*, II, 110. Quoted in part by *Weekly Indiana State Journal*, June 10, 1854, and *Frankfort Commonwealth*, June 6, 1854.

devout service in the Senate and a fervent passion for the Union could regain him the esteem he had once known. The killing of a popular teacher by Matthew Ward thus brought misfortune upon many families and ultimately affected the life of a dying political party's strongest voice.

HARLEY GRANVILLE-BARKER'S SHAKESPEAREAN CRITICISM

HARRY E. MAHNKEN AND JANINE S. MAHNKEN

HARLEY GRANVILLE-BARKER (1877-1946), as a translator, producer, playwright and scholar, was one of the best-known theatrical figures of his generation. He was responsible for the charming adaptation of Arthur Schnitzler's *The Affairs of Anatol*. With J. E. Vedrenne he presented the distinguished Court Theatre series of plays by Euripides, Shakespeare, Ibsen, Shaw and Galsworthy. Among his original scripts are *The Voysey Inheritance*, *Waste* and *Madras House*. As a scholar, he edited, with G. B. Harrison, *A Companion to Shakespeare Studies*. He was the author of *The Exemplary Theatre*, *The Study of Drama* and *The Use of the Drama*. These works, together with his famous *Prefaces to Shakespeare*, remain among the finest critical writings by a practical theatre artist.

Too often scholarly critics think of the work they are studying as a strictly literary product instead of something meant to be acted. Granville-Barker combines actual theatrical experience in all of its phases with scholarly interests, thus achieving an adequate frame of reference for his work. He leans toward theatrical solutions whenever problems arise.

Granville-Barker "vitaly influenced the stage by his creative literary efforts, by his new visions of what should be the functions of the theatrical producer, and by his alert critical studies."¹ As a dramatist he knew that he must consider in his play structure the physical conditions of his theatre; he knew too that the form of the play must be innate in its theme. He was the ideal actor for the New Drama, yet managed to create a stir with his brilliant Richard II. Whether in the role of actor or producer, Granville-

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¹Allardyce Nicoll, *World Drama* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949), p. 667.

Barker insisted on submission to the playwright's intent.² He was, actually, a Shakespearean reformer, trying to rescue that dramatist from the lavish productions of Irving and Tree. The "new" Shakespeare had a social, as well as a formal, significance; it was less expensive and was designed for a less wealthy public.³ Not everyone accepted Granville-Barker's productions. Odell called them "modern staging with a vengeance" and hoped that this "silly and vulgar" way of producing Shakespeare would die out.⁴

Granville-Barker the critic shows that his ideal is not realism but the "drama of poetic concept."⁵ His viewpoint is always that of the actor-director, and he undertook his *Prefaces to Shakespeare* in that spirit. Some critics believe that stagecraft has no place in the criticism of Shakespeare. Granville-Barker admits that his purposes are not literary, but dramatic. It is not necessary to give detailed criticisms of the *Prefaces*; it will be more valuable to consider the work itself, since scholars and critics alike agree that Granville-Barker's work is important in reviving a dramatic approach to Shakespeare.

Before examining Granville-Barker's remarks on specific Shakespearean plays, it might be well to summarize his general viewpoint on Elizabethan theatre and Shakespeare. He conceives the ideal play as a struggle and reconciliation of human wills and ideas with destiny or circumstance.⁶ The characters' speech and action must be justifiable.⁷ Shakespeare "was no faultless artist nor great philosopher nor, by direct means, a moral teacher. . . . But he was a most remarkable observer. . . . And he was a poet—which meant among other things that his eyes saw what common eyes could not see, beauties they missed, and, beneath the surface, into men's secret thoughts and motives."⁸ The English theatre seeks a renewal of strength in Shakespeare, whom it considers a national property. Un-

²Alan S. Downer, "Harley Granville-Barker," *Sewanee Review*, LV (1947), p. 645.

³Eric Bentley, *In Search of Theatre* (New York: Vintage Books, 1954), pp. 107-108.

⁴George C. D. Odell, *Shakespeare* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), II, pp. 466-468.

⁵Nicoll, p. 668.

⁶Harley Granville-Barker, *The Exemplary Theatre* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1922), p. 46.

⁷Harley Granville-Barker, *The Use of the Drama* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945), p. 51.

⁸Granville-Barker, *Use of the Drama*, p. 81.

fortunately, many pseudo-traditions that have been preserved are not really Shakespeare at all.⁹ The theatre must keep Shakespeare's work alive. "About as many people get at Shakespeare's plays by reading them as can appreciate Beethoven's Symphonies by fingering them out on the piano."¹⁰

Granville-Barker believes that Shakespeare thought of his plays as units, that he seldom planned them out in five-act form. He suggests that Shakespeare was fairly indifferent to form, although willing to experiment with it. He conceived the play as an organic whole, the action as one continuous process.¹¹ His combinations of structure and action are integral to the play.¹² He knew that the external show is not as important as the show of the heart of a man.¹³ In his development as a dramatist, Shakespeare rid himself of artifice and formula. He aimed at illusion of life rather than precision of form.¹⁴

Although Granville-Barker insists that the plays be acted as Shakespeare wrote them,¹⁵ he recognizes that the amount of the unwritten will exceed the written in a highly organized drama, making the actor's imagination important.¹⁶ Because dramatic characters must be portrayed by actors, it is wasteful to construct a character complete in every detail. The actor brings certain characteristics to the role; these characteristics must not be incongruous with the playwright's details. This providing of "raw material" for the actor does not diminish the playwright; a play is never complete until it is produced, so it is pointless to pretend that a finished product comes to us from the dramatist.¹⁷ To enjoy Shakespearean plays fully, we must train our ears to appreciate the music of his verse. In staging his plays, the verse must be the foundation of all study.¹⁸ Just as the actors must learn to *speak* the verse, the audience must

⁹Harley Granville-Barker, *Prefaces to Shakespeare* (London: Sedgwick & Jackson, Ltd., 1945), I, p. xi.

¹⁰Granville-Barker, *Exemplary Theatre*, pp. 30, 40.

¹¹Granville-Barker, *Prefaces*, III, pp. 14-21.

¹²Granville-Barker, *Use of the Drama*, p. 47.

¹³Granville-Barker, *Prefaces*, I, p. 52.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, III, p. 203.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, I, p. xxxvii.

¹⁶Granville-Barker, *Use of the Drama*, p. 39.

¹⁷Granville-Barker, *Prefaces*, III, pp. 4-5.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, I, pp. xxiv-xxvii.

learn to *listen* to it.¹⁹ Shakespeare's verse must exhibit character, explain action and suggest background and mood.

Only recently people have discovered that the varieties of stagecraft were not accidental. An Elizabethan play usually goes best on an Elizabethan stage. Elizabethan drama was not unsophisticated. It developed quickly from crudity through decadence, its decline perhaps hastened by the influence of the Masque: "Man and machine (here at any rate is a postulate, if a platitude!) are false allies in the theatre, secretly at odds; and when man gets the worst of it, drama is impoverished. And the struggle, we may add, is perennial." Shakespeare enjoyed a freedom in stagecraft that is impossible on the stage of visual illusion. Presenting all the scenes realistically is a mistake; the audience will spend its time looking at the sets. "This is normally the great gain of the unlocalised stage; no precious words need be wasted, nor ingenuity spent, in complying with the undramatic needs of space and time; incarnation of character can be all in all." Other conventions influenced the drama of the Elizabethans. The boy-actresses needed roles which they could play without seeming ridiculous. They gave to Shakespeare's plays a remoteness which the soliloquy retrieved. The costuming was neither consistent nor rational. "It was based upon the use of the clothes of the time; but these might be freely and fantastically adapted to suit a particular play or advantage some character in it." We owe the use of Elizabethan staging in our time to William Poll, who courageously tried it when Sir Henry Irving and "realism" were still triumphant. Until we learn more about the Elizabethan stage, we may expect editing and producing to be vitiated by lack of that simple knowledge.²⁰

The dominant convention of Shakespeare's theatre was physical action, but in his mature work he relegated that to second place and emphasized character.²¹ Our misunderstandings of Shakespeare's stagecraft arise from our conception of the word "scene." The best of his stagecraft is fundamental to all drama. Granville-Barker admits being unable to escape personal interpretation of the plays, but states a practical aim in his *Prefaces*: "I want to see Shakespeare made fully effective on the English stage."²²

¹⁹Granville-Barker, *Exemplary Theatre*, p. 41.

²⁰Granville-Barker, *Prefaces*, I, pp. x-xxxiii.

²¹Granville-Barker, *Use of the Drama*, p. 33.

²²Granville-Barker, *Prefaces*, II, pp. vi-viii.

We have reviewed Granville-Barker's general principles of Shakespearean criticism and his ideas on Shakespearean production as a whole. In considering his remarks about specific plays we shall find that his interpretations are frequently at variance with those of scholars preceding him and contemporaneous with him. Granville-Barker's criticism developed within the context of the theatre rather than the study. Remembering this, let us look at his analyses of the plays, taking them in the order which he chose for his *Prefaces*.

Love's Labour's Lost, Granville-Barker admits, is most important for its evidence of trial and error. Its lack of dramatic art must be faced. "It is, five-sixths of it, more decorative exercise than drama," and we are "never very far from the actual formalities of song and dance." Many of its speeches are *arias* which simply hold up the action and do little to develop character. "But the best of the play's craft is lodged in the dialogue; in its twists and turns, in the shifts of tune and key, which are stage directions of the clearest sort." Shakespeare was attempting satire, yet he could not resist his characters—a weakness in a satirist, but a virtue in a playwright. To produce the play correctly, we must think of it in terms of music—contrast of tone, tune and rhythm. *Love's Labour's Lost* can be delightful, but it demands *style* in acting.²³ Granville-Barker takes a play ordinarily considered slight and full of unintelligible contemporary allusions and tells how it can be made palatable and attractive to a modern audience. He thinks of it as a musical composition, the *sound* of which may be enjoyed even when the *sense* cannot be understood.

Julius Caesar is the "manliest" of Shakespeare's plays, "the gateway through which Shakespeare passed to the writing of his five great tragedies." The play has no formal plot mechanism but moves forward with a lifelike ebb and flow of minor events. The beginnings of each major division are impressive; they *had* to be striking in the Elizabethan theatre since there was no dimming of the lights, no curtain to arouse the spectator. One of the supreme effects of the play is Caesar's asking his friends to have some wine before going to the Senate—"The sacrament of hospitality and trust!" After Caesar's death, the main-spring of action must lie in Shakespeare's creation of Antony. The first action following Anthony's speech to the mob is the death of the poet Cinna. "He draws no

²³*Ibid.*, I, pp. 2-4, 14, 25-26, 29, 40-42.

moral, does not wordily balance the merits of this cause against that. He is content to compose for the core of his play with an artist's enjoyment, an artist's conscience in getting the balance true, this ironic picture; and, finally, to set against the high tragedy of the murder of Caesar a poor poetaster's wanton slaughter."²⁴

Shakespeare divides his dramatic realm among the idealist (Brutus), the egoist (Cassius) and the opportunist (Antony). "Brutus best interprets the play's theme: Do evil that good may come, and see what does come!" He is the true hero of the play. He is an ancestor of Hamlet and belongs in the Romeo-Richard II-Jacques line. Brutus is built carefully, but economically. His power rests "in his integrity of mind, his truth to himself, in his perfect simplicity." Cassius is a man of temperament, whose contradictory qualities keep him in an uproar. "Let Cassius be never so intolerable, we no more cease to care for him than Brutus does. His faults are too human; they make us—most of us—kin to him, and kind." Antony is "impulsive and calculating, warm-hearted and callous, aristocrat, sportsman, and demagogue." Shakespeare's treatment of Antony's appeal to the mob is honest but ruthless. We find him eloquent, but we are aware of the speech's worth and of the kind of emotion he is tapping. Caesar is so far from being an outstanding character that we suspect he is present merely to be assassinated. Calpurnia, unlike Portia, makes no attempt to conceal her fears. Portia is the quiet beauty who is neither clever nor coquettish. She is the home-keeping, content woman who, though possibly her friends find her dull, possesses dignity of soul and innate courage.²⁵

The staging of Julius Caesar presents certain difficulties. Its costuming shows both nationality and period, but not consistently nor with historical accuracy. The set must not intrude on the audience's consciousness, but, of course, the appearance of the actor is always important. Shakespeare often makes reference to articles of clothing, so the designer must not be carried away with historical precision. If an actor wears a toga and calls it a doublet, it will be distracting. The problem can be resolved by adapting the conventions of Renaissance painters, who used a mixture of helmet, cuirass, trunk hose, stockings and sandals for classical subjects.²⁶ By Gran-

²⁴*Ibid.*, I, pp. 51, 90-111.

²⁵*Ibid.*, I, pp. 52-60, 64-69, 75, 77, 79, 85-87.

²⁶*Ibid.*, I, pp. 126-128.

ville-Barker's emphasis on the play's "ebb and flow," we can perceive the importance of continuous action and deduce the rhythm with which he would produce the play. As always, his criticism helps us to *visualize* the script.

The discussion of *King Lear* centers around disproving the argument that the play cannot be acted. Granville-Barker insists that since such a wide scope of theme had revealed itself to Shakespeare, we might expect him to be at his theatrical best. The age that denied *Lear's* suitability to the stage—that of Lamb and Coleridge—was an age concerned with "the beauties" of Shakespeare. The stagecraft of the plays seems to have been little considered. Granville-Barker suggests that some of the misconceptions about *Lear* spring from a too sophisticated approach. *Lear's* supreme moment is the second storm scene; after that, the tension relaxes. Granville-Barker believes that *Lear's* mad scenes are Shakespeare at his boldest, that they pass far beyond the needs of the plot. "This mad mummerly of the trial comes near to being something we might call pure drama . . . in the sense that it cannot be rendered into other terms than its own." Especially in the storm scenes, the actor must forget, to an extent, that he is *Lear*; the lines must be spoken for their own sake, because they transcend *Lear*. The likeness between *Lear* and Cordelia is the most striking effect of the drama—"the mighty old man and the frail child, confronted, and each unyielding." The secret of Cordelia's nature is her incapability of viewing things from the standpoint of her own gain or loss. We may have difficulty in comprehending the function of the Fool in the way that the Elizabethans did. They recognized in him a professional commentator, and "to pursue him beyond the play's bounds, to steep him in extraneous sentiment, is to miss the most characteristically dramatic thing about him."²⁷

Staging *Lear* is, admittedly, a problem. Granville-Barker positively denies the efficacy of localized scenery, believing that a play so full of character and incident cannot bear its distraction. For example, the storm scenes must be *acted*; machinery will only distract. "Elizabethan acting did not inhabit the removed footlight-defended stage of the theatre of to-day, and all its technique and conventions and the illusion it created differ appropriately in consequence; this is the constant theme of these prefaces and must be

²⁷*Ibid.*, I, pp. 133-138, 143, 150, 176-178, 189-192, 201.

of any study of the staging of Shakespeare's plays." The director must focus attention on actor rather than set. Shakespeare probably did not rely too much on costume to set his tone, but he did try to separate it from his own age that it might appear remote and barbaric. Cuts should not be made; even the Folio's omission of the mock trial is not to be tolerated.²⁸ Although we will discuss Granville-Barker's ideas about hacking the script later, it may be well to point out that he cannot completely escape the charge of dogmaticism in his picking and choosing between Quarto and Folio-readings. Although he is sincere in his belief that a given reading was Shakespeare's own preference and is dramatically most effective, his rationalizations to support these preferences are often specious.

Romeo and Juliet is a lyric tragedy, and must be so interpreted. In it we see Shakespeare skillfully using devices which he will later reject or adapt to other purposes. He has multiplied the dramatic value of his source by compressing the action. Significantly, the action begins with a clash of the two houses. The theme is developed by episodes which contrast in character and treatment, Shakespeare's chief technical resource for effect in this play. Since it is a tragedy more of circumstance than of character, the ending, with its emphasis on circumstance, is justified. The tragedy is summed up by the Nurse asking Juliet if she will speak well of the man who killed her cousin; Juliet asks if she can speak ill of her husband. In this play, Shakespeare is in an artistic ferment, "capable of couplet, sonnet, word-juggling, straight sober verse, or hard-bitten prose." Juliet's puns on "I" reveal, for example, her confused, agonized mind. The nonsense that no actress can play Juliet until she is too old to look the part ignores the fact that Juliet's tragedy results from her youth. "In her helpless courage is the pathos, in her resolve from the first to kill herself sooner than yield—she is fourteen!—is the high heroism of the struggle. . . . But she has not grown older as Romeo has, nor risen to an impersonal dignity of sorrow." Romeo, in his misgivings of "some consequence yet hanging in the stars" shows the peculiar clarity which gives quality to a man . . . and will at a crisis compel him to face his fate." This Romeo must have shown Shakespeare that he was ready to develop a tragic hero strong enough to carry a play.²⁹

²⁸*Ibid.*, I, pp. 141-153, 198, 221-227.

²⁹*Ibid.*, II, pp. 1-12, 31, 59-66.

There should be no scene divisions in *Romeo and Juliet*. The quick succession of contrasting events is part of the effect, and act division should be used only to obtain some advantage to the play's acting. Some of Mercutio's jokes create more discomfort than laughter among an audience, and might well be cut.³⁰ Nowhere is Granville-Barker more apt to be dogmatic than in this business of cutting. He would cut Mercutio's jokes but retain the unintelligible gossip in *Love's Labour's Lost*. After his long tirades on the inviolability of Shakespeare's scripts and the attack on people who are blue-pencil-happy, we may begin to suspect that Granville-Barker is not above using two sets of rules for his critical game.

Granville-Barker approaches *The Merchant of Venice* as a fairy tale in two planes of action, the real and the fantastic. Dramatic time is elastic. Both stories are set in motion immediately; the romance of the Portia story and the hate of the Shylock story enhance one another. Throughout the play, "effects must be valued very much in terms of music."³¹ The minor characters barely carry their own weight in the plot; indeed, in the earlier plays *none* of the characters outruns the requirements of the plot. Portia "is one of that eminent succession of candid and fearless souls: Rosaline, Helena, Beatrice, Rosalind—they embodied an ideal lodged for long in Shakespeare's imagination."³²

The Merchant of Venice should be played without a break. Whatever sets the designer provides must not obstruct the swift flow of action. One scene needs careful handling: Shylock *must* enter the courtroom alone. His must be a drab, lonely figure amid the magnificence of the court. And the faith in which he abides must be broken.³³ Throughout the discussion Granville-Barker stresses the delicacy with which the theme must be handled and the fact that, in production, the time problem will handle itself. Frequently such difficulties as the time problem are more apparent in the study than in the theatre.

Granville-Barker tells us that *Antony and Cleopatra* is the most "spacious" of the plays, and asks us to remember that it is a play of action, not of spiritual insight. It is a tragedy of disillusion. It is Antony's passion for Cleopatra that is his ruin, but the main theme

³⁰*Ibid.*, II, pp. 34-41.

³¹*Ibid.*, II, pp. 67-68.

³²*Ibid.*, II, pp. 84-90.

³³*Ibid.*, II, pp. 100-110.

of the decay of the once-triumphant man of action "dictates form, method, and the bulk of the play's content." It is a business-like play. The three days of battle are a device of deliberate stagecraft; they increase tension, clarify the story and intensify our interest. No soliloquies are found in the play; it is a play of action, and Shakespeare has so developed that he does not need them to forward his plot. We find, though, what is a recurring note in Shakespearean tragedy—the contempt for success of those who have failed, "this exalting of the solitary dignity of the soul." His verse fits the subject perfectly—ripe, resourceful, audacious and spontaneous. It is always appropriate to mood and meaning, but its real virtue is its combination of delicacy, strength, richness and simplicity.³⁴

Even the minor characters in *Antony and Cleopatra* are expertly drawn. Roman and Egyptian are set against each other for contrast, but every character is directly concerned with the plot. The minor characters are an accompaniment to the theme, but never distract us from it. The main clash of character is between Antony and Caesar. Caesar is not lovable, but he is able; and he grows in ability at every opportunity. It is not he but the *unbalanced man*—Enobarbus as well as Antony—who falls. Each scene in which we see Cleopatra tells us something which will illuminate her tragedy. Her fault lies in possessing a nature which "will not be reconciled to any gospel but her own."³⁵

Antony and Cleopatra should be staged without divisions; any halt will result in loss of effect. The battle scenes—twenty-two of them—"as localised scenes make dramatic nonsense." Unlocalized scenes never puzzled Elizabethans. "For them the actors were very plainly on the stage, but the characters might, half the time, be nowhere in particular." Though it would be easy to localize the longer scenes, the others would lose substance by comparison, destroying the play's dramatic unity.³⁶ Granville-Barker's solution to these complex problems is vague: "We need to have our minds kept clear and alert. Still, if we cannot take the Elizabethan stage for granted as the Elizabethans did, producer and decorator must surely face the problem of providing something we can."³⁷ *Cymbeline* may have been Shakespeare's first work after retiring

³⁴*Ibid.*, II, pp. 111-112, 139-143, 172-181, 210-216.

³⁵*Ibid.*, II, pp. 116-117, 119, 124, 219, 224-227, 231.

³⁶*Ibid.*, II, pp. 127-141.

³⁷*Ibid.*, II, p. 166.

to Stratford. Its authorship is disputed, but it certainly bears Shakespeare's stamp. Some idiosyncrasies may have resulted because it was written for the Blackfriars, a private theatre. Its bias is definitely decorative. Tension in the play is slack; in the last scene it is kept alive by a series of eighteen surprises. The ending, with "Pardon's the word to all" is typically Shakespearean. Because it is a romantic rather than an introspective play, *Cymbeline* is full of concrete imagery. The art of Shakespeare's technique is not too calculated; he is at one with his medium and manipulates it easily. Married chastity is the chief theme of the play. *Cymbeline*, with all its imperfections, has merits of its own, although no one will rank it with the greater plays. Its verse is rich in texture, constituting almost a new Euphuism, which demands a certain sophistication in delivery. Iachimo is a blend of the heroic and the comic whose integrity of character is, nevertheless, preserved. Imogen saves the play from dullness; she is the only character with whom Shakespeare does not maintain a cold detachment. She and Cleopatra are the "fullest and maturest" women he drew.³⁸

Granville-Barker devotes all of his longest volume of prefaces to *Hamlet* because he considers it the most interesting of all plays. His purpose was to study one play as thoroughly as possible in order to "look at Shakespeare's dramatic art in the light of the effect which he, surmisedly, meant to make of it."³⁹

In concentrating the action at Elsinore, Shakespeare has adopted a kind of unity of place for specific dramatic purposes. His use of time is elastic; he ignores time because Hamlet ignores it, and he attunes the entire action, and us, to Hamlet's mood. The time measure is used to hasten or slow down the dramatic speed. Shakespeare's concern is *tempo*, not time. Generally, we can expect less realism in time to accompany less realism in scenic place. It is significant in the understanding of Shakespeare's art that his masterpiece should be the recasting of a ready-made play. Much of the technical achievement is the direct revelation of Hamlet's intimate griefs. It is essential to the rest of his interpretation to quote Granville-Barker's thesis on the play: "Here is a tragedy of inaction; the centre of it is Hamlet, who is physically inactive too, has 'foregone all custom of exercises,' will not 'walk out of the air,' but

³⁸*Ibid.*, II, pp. 234-238, 250, 264, 275-285, 288, 293-305, 314, 329, 345.

³⁹*Ibid.*, III, p. v.

only, book in hand, for 'four hours together, here in the lobby.' The concentration at Elsinore of all that happens enhances the impression of this inactivity, which is enhanced again by the sense also given us of the constant coming and going around Hamlet of the busier world without. The place itself, moreover, thus acquires a personality, and even develops a sort of sinister power."⁴⁰

In *Hamlet*, Shakespeare uses tricks of language with new validity: the cumulation of several epithets for emphasis, repetition by complement, nouns used as adjectives, the reiteration of a single significant word. The verse sometimes reflects the occasion or the person spoken to, rather than the person speaking. Claudius' verse is expressive not of himself, but of the role he is performing. The scene in which Hamlet learns of his father's ghost is full of "cadence, colour and rhythm turned to dramatic account." The play is largely composed of related imagery—weeds for Gertrude's sin, garbage for Claudius, flowers for Ophelia. Although verse predominates, there has been no attempt to sustain the poetic pitch throughout. Nor is there the simple division of verse for heroics and sentiment, prose for comic scenes. In fact, it is not ordinarily the verse of Hamlet which reveals the inner man.⁴¹

Four scenes need special comment: Hamlet's learning of the ghost is a vivid and close-knit scene, the finest of its kind in Shakespeare. In the grave scene, Hamlet must *not* leap into the grave. That tradition was probably begun by some actor who got carried away. It ruins the point of the scene; Laertes *must* be the aggressor and he cannot seem so if Hamlet attacks him. The closet scene with Gertrude represents Hamlet's attempt to avenge himself upon the traitor to his ideal. In his scene with Ophelia in the lobby, Hamlet sees her not as Ophelia but as womankind, representing the evil which poisoned his world.⁴²

Horatio's role is a masterpiece of economy. We learn much of him from Hamlet, who turns to Horatio as a true friend. Rosenkrantz and Guildenstern apparently were meant to be nonentities, and their fate is that of the "nonentity who yields himself in complacent ignorance to evil employment." Polonius seems at first full of sound wisdom; our conception of him begins changing with his injunctions to Reynaldo. Laertes at first has our sympathy,

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, III, pp. 1-3, 23-32.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, III, pp. 204-207, 210-216, 224-226, 235.

⁴²*Ibid.*, III, pp. 47, 162-163, 295, 306.

which Shakespeare swings back to Hamlet through the plot by which Hamlet is to be killed. At the end Laertes repents and sees to it that the King does not escape. "Hamlet forgives him, and we are meant to, also." Ophelia's fragile nature crumbles quite believably. "The father she loved and trusted killed by the man she loved; it is the final and fatal wrench. Her madness tragically outmatches his whose work it is."⁴³ Claudius is a "consummate hypocrite," but never comes fully to life. He is not a drunkard; he is too clever for that, but he is a sensualist in that too. He grieves sincerely at Polonius' death and Ophelia's suffering, feeling himself the man he would like to be. But at the crucial moment he will not risk his neck to save his Queen. She is the foot of the tragedy. Gertrude was unable to mature; she clung to her youth; her charm could not change but only fade because she refused to grow up.⁴⁴

Hamlet's madness is the most significant element in the play. "The reality, and the riddle of it, is Shakespeare's addition to the old story and its pretence, and is the leaven which, lifting the character above the story's needs, gives the play its enduring significance." With Hamlet, it is the idea and not the thing itself that counts. A student and thinker, he recognizes the import of words. He delights that they come easily to him, but he despises himself for his ability, wanting instead to act.⁴⁵

Hamlet is not morally unstable. His "thinking too precisely on the event" saps his resolution, but it sharpens his sense of right and wrong.⁴⁶ We get three views of Hamlet: "in his disillusioned grief; under the strain of his madness; and returning, hardened, to quit his account with the King." None are normal views of him; Hamlet is probably most "himself" when joking with the players. These glimpses of a normal Hamlet contrast with his soliloquies, where we do *not* see him as he really is. "In a tragedy of spiritual struggle, discord will be at its worst when a man is left alone with his thoughts." We learn most about Hamlet in his praise of Horatio. Whatever the situation, he would have been a failure: "passion's slave." His misfortunes emphasize the strengths and weaknesses of his character. He returns from England hardened to the vengeance he must perform, but much that was lovable in him has disappeared.

⁴³*Ibid.*, III, pp. 247-269.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, III, pp. 271-284.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, III, pp. 56, 133, 228-229.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, III, p. 260.

"Hamlet's is a human soul adrift. . . . He never regains a natural spiritual health, nor does he reach self-understanding." He had been unsure about the ghost and yet action was required of him. His faith and reason were at odds within him, and so he did self-defeating things, lapsing into impotence and despair. "Hamlet is a man adrift from old faiths and not yet anchored in new; a man of his time in that, more particularly."⁴⁷ In this analysis of Hamlet's character, and in his comments on Hamlet's madness, Granville-Barker is especially at variance with other critics, notably with A. C. Bradley. Bradley feels that it is precisely the fact of the *particular* circumstances in which Hamlet finds himself which make him unable to act, and that it is his tragedy that he does not have full command of his gifts at the time he has most need of them.

We have discussed the principles which Harley Granville-Barker followed in his Shakespearean criticism and have indicated where his reasoning seems vague or dogmatic. However much we may disagree with specific points of his interpretations, we must agree that he brought to Shakespearean criticism something which had long been lacking—intimate knowledge of theatrical conditions combined with a passionate interest in seeing Shakespeare performed.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, III, pp. 308-325.

TOURNAMENT DEBATE: EMASCULATED RHETORIC

HERMANN G. STELZNER

THE EDUCATIONAL VALUE of tournament debate has been the subject of persistent inquiry and controversy, both of which are likely to continue. The discussions agree on one point: Tournament debate is a significant method of rhetorical training in colleges and universities. The student in a forensic program with this emphasis most often finds his opportunity to practice analyzing a proposition, developing lines of argument and supporting evidence, using language, and presenting material orally within the framework of a tournament.

The environment in which tournament debates are conducted has little similarity to that of the market place. Rarely is the tournament debater evaluated by a general audience; instead he usually speaks to a man or a few men versed in the special science of tournament debate who evaluate according to explicitly prescribed categories, each having a quantitative equivalent. Unchanging, static criteria, rather than a specific, everchanging speech situation, influence a student's choice and practice of rhetorical principles. A move to further standardize the criteria for evaluation seems to be gaining strength. A recent article states that ballots have been improved considerably from a quantitative point of view,¹ and an increasing number of tournament sponsors are adopting ballots for evaluation designed by the several forensic associations.

The demand for judge-critics who are experts in forensic techniques emphasizes the specialized nature of the tournament environment. The search for judge-critics who "know something about tournament debate" is illustrated by a recent tournament invitation which specified that the judge-critic accompanying the debaters must be either the director or assistant director of debate and have judged ten intercollegiate debates on the proposition, or someone actively associated with a college debate program in the past as director or

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¹Grace Walsh, "Tournaments: For Better or Worse?" *Speech Teacher*, VI (January, 1957), 67.

assistant director. Even a professor of political science asked to judge in the 1959-1960 debate season might have found himself suspect, regardless of his particular knowledge of the Supreme Court problem and his general knowledge of the forensic process.

Theory often follows practice and some textbooks treat tournament debate as a rhetorical genre. One writer considers it "a special case of *exposition*."² Others write that those critical of the activity seem "not to understand . . . [its] purposes and procedures."³ Tournament debate as defined and practiced is a special rhetorical activity conducted in a "quasi-scientific" environment according to precisely defined rules. In view of the great emphasis on tournament debate in forensic programs the limitations of the contest situation should be examined. This paper considers some of the effects of tournament debate on students' practice and understanding of four of the canons of rhetoric.

Invention. The primary step in composition is invention, or the discovering of something to talk about. It is an intellectual process, the end of which is to comprehend a problem and to formulate a view concerning it after studying and analyzing it in all directions and dimensions. When a tournament debater first confronts a proposition, he tries to understand it by reading widely, by formulating ideas and opinions, and by searching for materials which support his analysis. Constantly testing himself, he adds, modifies, and rejects materials as his comprehension and understanding of the complex nature of a proposition increases. Initially the process of investigation stretches the mind and expands the vision of the student. But what happens after the basic lines of argument have been established? A student's revisions are now usually confined to changes of emphasis and organization; he is not likely to gain new insight into the question. The search for more evidence to bolster his views continues, but this is essentially a research task.

After a student engaged almost exclusively in tournament debate has presented his argument ten or twelve times is he likely to gain any greater understanding of the problem? Does he continue to expand his vision, or is he more concerned with the search for min-

²W. Charles Redding, "Presentation of the Debate Speech," in *Argumentation and Debate: Principles and Practices*, David Potter (ed.), (New York: 1951), p. 221. Italics his.

³Henry Lee Ewbank and J. Jeffery Auer, *Discussion and Debate: Tools of a Democracy*, (New York: 1951), p. 388.

ute bits of evidence which strengthen his already established position? The question is: When does the law of diminishing return take effect? One strong supporter of tournament debate states that she has "seriously pondered" the question: "At what point does further discussion or debate cease to enlighten a student concerning any particular problem?"⁴ If and when this point is reached, is there justification for further participation? If a student is not increasing his understanding, the process of invention has ceased and he is debating for no reason other than to gain practice in the use of logical forms. Worthy as such training may be, it may also tend to make him legalistic in his approach to problems, paying more attention to form than to substance. He may become a better craftsman, but his intellectual maturity may suffer.

The limited ends sought in tournament debate are reflected in the method of evaluation. The judge-critic is instructed to "evaluate skills of debating, not the merits of the question."⁵ Clearly the emphasis is on form. Any analysis of material should be as much concerned with the merit of what is invented as with the means employed to illustrate and defend it; yet the debater is held responsible only for supporting well those principles he advances, not their merit. Principles become devices of argument to be used as counters as they are moved about in an effort to forestall defeat. At the end of his presentation, however, a debater asks for judgment and acceptance of his position. He does not ask the judge-critic to grant him his premises and to evaluate only the logical relationships which bind the discourse internally. Thus it does not seem possible for a judge-critic to evaluate without considering the principles from which all else flows. To force a critic to do so may put him in the position of saying: Your principles have little merit but your logical development is sound. He may even award a decision to the side which has logical consistency and structure, but whose principles have little merit and decide against a position based upon principles of greater merit when the logical structure leaves something to be desired. To ask a judge-critic to evaluate in this way is to ask him to violate his obligations to his discipline. To allow a student to operate in such a manner is to invite disrespect for principles as the basis of invention.

⁴Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁵E.C. Buehler, "The Role of Opinion as Related to Persuasion and Contest Debate," *The Southern Speech Journal*, XXV (Fall, 1959), 24.

In tournament debate the judge-critic also evaluates only what is presented by the participants. Unlike members of a general audience he is not authorized to use private information when considering issues. Carried to its logical extreme this means that he accepts any or all nonsense unless the contending parties point out that it is nonsense. Broadrick states that tournament debate has borrowed this system from the field of legal argumentation where neither judge nor jury is authorized to evaluate on the basis of specific items of fact not produced in court. However, legal argumentation has restraints on matters of evidence which are absent in tournament debate and in deliberative argumentation.⁶ The use of courtroom standards to evaluate discussions of policy alters markedly the environment in which deliberative rhetoric functions and the nature of deliberative rhetoric itself. Students need opportunities to test their invention, logic, and evidence in conditions similar to those of a general assembly. In this way they will gain greater understanding of the decision-making process and the relationship of rhetorical activity to it.

Arrangement. After a speaker has selected those ideas he wishes to develop, his concern shifts to the problem of moving them into a public environment. Whereas invention is primarily subject-centered, arrangement is audience-centered. Of the four canons of rhetoric examined in this essay, arrangement is of least concern to the tournament debater, except, of course, as it relates to the internal unity of the speech. The external conditions to which he must adapt his material are limited. He has no audience; place and occasion are insignificant considerations; the debate ballot, a copy of which he often sees prior to the tournament, takes most of the other variables out of the situation by detailing the factors to be evaluated and the weight to be ascribed to each.

⁶King Broadrick, "New Directions in Debating," Unpublished paper read at the Illinois State Speech Association Convention, Urbana, Illinois, November, 1956. Broadrick explores the "unanalyzed analogy between deliberative and legal advocacy" and "some debate theories and practices into which we have been led by the analogy. . . ." Specifically, he believes we have departed materially from two central concepts of classical rhetoric: "the concept of *stasis* or *status*, which represents a method of discovering issues by looking directly at contentions of opposing parties, and raises no questions of presumption or burden of proof as essential to discovery of issues in a controversy, and, secondly, the classical concept that the main aim of deliberative argumentation is expediency, *i.e.*, to discover the course or courses of action which seem on grounds of probability to be the most advantageous in the particular circumstances."

When measured against the full body of rhetorical principles, the debate speech is truncated; the emphasis is on development of the body with little consideration for introductions and conclusions. Introductions, if present, are usually limited to remarks of the "good day" variety. Judge-critic and speaker know the "ground rules" and there is little need for the debater to adapt himself and his material to the person present. Because both critic and speaker are often experts there is no need to develop background material necessary to a full understanding of the proposition. Little thought need be given to selecting and arranging materials to gain the interest and attention of the listener. Organization of the debate speech is based on logical rather than rhetorical necessities.

In developing the body of a speech the debater most often arranges his materials in a deductive form, wherein each stock issue is stated, expanded, and supported. Rarely does he consider other possibilities. For instance, he might try an inductive pattern which is no less logical than the deductive and which has the advantage of building climax order to sustain the interest of the listener. Or he might use an arrangement based on an extended analogy which is particularly suited for audiences. It has probative force and is no less logical than the statement-particular development, especially when the particulars consist of two or three bits of testimony.

The tournament debate system restrains the essentially plastic nature of rhetoric. The arrangement of materials has been fairly well established and the opportunity to particularize materials to suit an occasion is lost. The means of development are limited by the emphasis on logical analysis, by the overemphasis on the stock issues as structural rubrics, and by the downgrading of ethical and emotional elements. And opportunities for the student to become sensitive to the place of arrangement in rhetorical practice are equally restrained.

Language. An analysis of the language of tournament debate further indicates that the contest debate speech is a special rhetorical genre.⁷ It fits in large measure Weaver's description of discourse which fails to induce "movement" in auditors. Weaver states that

⁷Although language has a central position in rhetorical theory and practice it is relegated to a secondary position in debate practice. For example, The American Forensic Association ballot makes no direct mention of it. The analysis and evaluation of language must be accomplished under one of the five headings on the ballot: analysis, evidence, argument, refutation, and delivery.

language has the ability to move us, in varying degrees, in three ways: for good, for evil, or not at all. The last type approaches "pure notation in the sense that it communicates abstract intelligence without impulsion, . . . showing no affection for the object of its symbolization and incapable of inducing bias in the hearers."⁸

The language of a tournament debate speech fits the category of "unmoving" language for two reasons. First, it is predominately denotative, serving a logical rather than analogical function. The language of the debate speech has two primary sources: the field of argumentation itself and the subject matter area from which the proposition is derived. Such terms as *the need*, *the plan*, *the burden of proof*, and *the counter plan* may be necessary to the analysis of a proposition, but they are not necessary to its exposition. As descriptive, denotative terms in the vocabulary of argumentation they are useful in communication among men of the special science. It is axiomatic that as language becomes more technical the audience which can be expected to understand it becomes more limited.

The emphasis on logical analysis and exposition in tournament debate forces the speaker to seek materials in the most objective sources he can find. Thus the language of the substantive materials in debate speeches is also predominately denotative. The greater the objectivity of the source materials the greater the likelihood that the evidence will be stated in language which reports in a neutral, unbiased fashion.

The second reason for the failure of debate language to move listeners is the absence of ethical and emotional materials. Broadly speaking the language of these elements interrelate speaker, material, and audience. Personalizing, individualizing, and heightening terms reflect the speaker's degree of commitment to his subject and ask for a similar commitment from the listener. Such language is unusual in debate speeches. Rarely does one hear a debater say "in my opinion," or "I believe." Indeed "most debaters are coached never to say 'in my opinion' "⁹ and are discouraged from identifying themselves with the product of their research and contemplation.

The debater's use of technical and non-identifying language is a result of the emphasis on denotative, non-ambiguous, neutral terms to achieve precision and clarity in logical exposition. This

⁸Richard M. Weaver, *The Ethics of Rhetoric*, (Chicago: 1953), pp. 6-7.

⁹Buehler, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

emphasis is commendable. Language, however, serves many purposes and as rhetoricians first and specialists in a species of argumentation second we have an obligation to expose students to the broad area of language. They should have equal opportunity to gain an awareness of usage which contributes to elegance, felicity, and literary quality. They need to be made aware of the way language functions in a variety of situations and to be given opportunities to increase their sensitivity to its complex nature.

There is no need to catalogue here the functions of language or the stylistic figurations serving them. Some examples of language usage not often found in tournament debate will serve for illustrative purposes. Rarely is humor and wit used to vary the mood or the pace, or to illustrate a point; the epigram and aphorism which crystallize ideas are absent; metaphors are non-existent; the figurative analogy is displaced by the literal. Although figurative language and stylistic devices may have little do with "reasoning" as such, they do help listeners "to see" ideas, aiding the understanding fully as much as language which functions logically.

Delivery. Delivery is a modifying agent which provides shading and coloring to the substantive materials of a speech. Viewed in this way it occupies a rather paradoxical place in the rhetoric of tournament debate. The debater's central aim is to be judged the better debater, the criterion for judgment being how well he handles the logical elements of discourse. Delivery has little opportunity to fulfill its function in a context where the emphasis is on the science of argumentation. It is bound inextricably with commitment and purpose, neither of which the debater has. Since he has no reason to move a listener, his opportunity to set and arrange or to upset and rearrange a mood is limited. The environment has been predetermined and remains relatively constant. His opportunity to change pitch, rate, and inflection is equally limited. How much shading and coloring can one provide to material cast in predominately neutral, denotative language?

The mores of tournament debate are designed to keep the climate "objective" and "scientific." Speaker and judge-critic are not expected to interact. The speaker is left without a frame of reference for his remarks. The judge-critic, expected to be iceberg-like in manner, should not indicate his reactions to the debate or to individual performances during the presentation. Thus the critical comments made about delivery are often of the general "polishing"

variety—slow down or speed up a bit, speak up or tone down a bit, speak to the critic, not to the opponents. These comments reflect general principles to be considered in any oral situation.

The criticisms given about delivery are usually audience-centered. Less often are comments made which relate delivery to the substance of the address. A question which might be asked is: How does the sense of some material and/or the importance ascribed to it by the speaker condition delivery? Admittedly this kind of analysis is more useful in rhetorical activity in which the speaker's purpose goes beyond performing a logical exercise. Occasionally a student is confused. Believing his aim is to move the listener he effects a delivery to accomplish that end. At this point he runs head-on into the prescribed end of tournament debate, for a delivery which reflects commitment is in conflict with the objective nature of the activity. It is out of character with the purpose, structure, and language of tournament debate.

In view of the central purpose of tournament debate and the resulting depersonalization of tournament rhetoric, one might question if delivery should be evaluated. Debate advisors could help students improve their delivery and judge-critics could offer polishing comments without making a quantitative judgment on the debate ballot. Take this category off the ballot altogether and evaluate only those elements of logical discourse that are essential to the situation. The written evaluation would then reflect the purpose of tournament debate without depriving the students of advice and suggestions concerning their oral presentations.

Whatever the limitations of tournament debate the activity has been justified on the ground that it is educational since emphasis on logical analysis and exposition are important in the training of more intelligent, responsible, and effective citizens. Why it is less educational to provide equally intense exposure to and practice of the full body of rhetorical principles or why such exposure and practice would make students less intelligent, responsible, and effective citizens has never been adequately explained. The principles which govern Man *speaking to* Man, not Man *displaying for* Man technical competence in logical exercises, need to be examined and practiced. Tournament debate is an emasculated rhetoric because its theory and practice fail to provide an adequate understanding of rhetoric as the "*rationale of informative and suasive discourse*" aimed at "*adjusting ideas to people and . . . people to*

ideas"¹⁰ to create "an informed appetite for the good."¹¹ It can only be hoped that in the future some of the time and energy now expended on the preparation of students for participation in tournament debate will be directed toward establishing activities which will provide students equal opportunities to understand and practice the full body of rhetorical principles.

¹⁰Donald C. Bryant, "Rhetoric: Its Functions and Its Scope," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XXXIX (December, 1953), 404, 413. Italics his.

¹¹Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

PROTEST UNDER THE CROSS: THE KU KLUX KLAN PRESENTS ITS CASE TO THE PUBLIC, 1960

DONALD E. WILLIAMS

BLEAK STONE MOUNTAIN near Atlanta, Georgia, is a mecca for loyal members of the Ku Klux Klan; it was here that the old Klan of Reconstruction days was revived in 1915 and started on the road to its ignominious downfall of the late 1920's. A new spurt of life for the Klan was proclaimed at Stone Mountain in the fall of 1956, after the implications of the 1954 Supreme Court decision against enforced segregation of races in public schools had become apparent. At the biggest Klan rally since World War I, a Klan leader, in denying that the "new Klan" had any connection with the original one, promised that it would stay within the laws—"laws that are just," he added.¹

The year 1960 was a particularly opportune time for the Klan to present its best case to the public because this was the year of the first presidential contest since the practical meaning of the momentous 1954 decision of the Supreme Court had been fully comprehended; social and political developments had made supremacy of the white race, an idea always central to Klan philosophy, assume even more importance. Initiating a great program of persuasion, the Klan, on March 1, announced plans for a recruiting drive for 10,000,000 members in 30 states.² Its determination in purpose was evident when burning crosses, the eerie, unmistakable Klan trademark, appeared around 10 o'clock, Saturday evening, March 26, in far-flung places across the South.³

This impressive, co-ordinated effort, however, belied the extensive splintering within the Klan movement. The Klan concept of 1960 was plural in nature; rivalry among some of the groups was often bitter as Klankraft was perpetuated through such groups as the Gulf Ku Klux Klan, the Dixie Klan, the 1866 Klan, the Southern Knights of the Klan, the Christian Knights, the United States

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¹New York Times, October 1, 1956.

²Ibid., March 1, 1960.

³Ibid., March 27, 1960.

Knights, and the Federated Knights. At a Stone Mountain rally, a Klan official reported that twenty-seven different Klan groups were represented.⁴

But the general public was not cognizant of all these different organizational titles. For all intent and purpose, "the Klan" was *the Klan*; in the South, the Klanland of today, a Kluxer was a Kluxer, regardless of whether there was any centralized authority in the Klan realm.⁵ Unity in concept and in function, in effect, was provided by similar symbols, practices, and purposes. One Klan speaker, in calling for greater cohesiveness among Klan groups, explained: "Every Klan group has practically the same obligation."⁶ Any study of the Klan, therefore, must deal with the consolidated image of the Klan held by the public, not with the image of any one or any group of the Klan factions.

This image was not a favorable one. Throughout the South, the Klan was suspect. The Augusta, Georgia, *Herald* put it bluntly:

Georgia has been disgraced too often in the past by night-riding cowards who viciously take the law into their own hands. Thus any revival of such activities by the Klan, or any facsimile thereof, should be promptly and positively suppressed.⁷

Claiming that the Klan's plan was to resort to mob rule, the Texarkana, Arkansas, *Gazette* charged: "The Ku Klux Klan should never be recognized as anything else but a mob."⁸ The Palatka, Florida, *News* found the principal Klan symbol especially repugnant: "Every time human beings make a public spectacle of burning a cross we can't help but wonder if Christ remains nailed upon it."⁹ In reply to the question, "How do you think your community, in general, looked upon the Klan in 1960?" 90 per cent of the newspaper editors in southern states who participated in a public opinion survey indicated, "Negatively."¹⁰

⁴*Decatur-DeKalb News*, September 8, 1960.

⁵"What the 'Sit-Ins' Are Stirring Up," *United States News and World Report*, XLVIII (April 18, 1960), 54.

⁶Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations of Klan speakers presented herein were taken from the author's transcriptions and notes of speeches given at the public Klan meetings which he attended.

⁷*Augusta Herald*, October 19, 1960.

⁸*Texarkana Gazette*, November 7, 1960.

⁹*Palatka News*, October 28, 1960.

¹⁰Fifty-two representative editors from the states of Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, South Carolina, and North Carolina participated in this poll, which was conducted by the author.

Communities flatly indicated that the Klan was not welcome in their midst. "There is no excuse for the existence of the Klan today," contended the Plant City, Florida, *Courier*.¹¹ The Hampton, South Carolina, *Hampton County Guardian* clearly agreed with this:

Activity of the Ku Klux Klan in the Low Country is about as needed as coals in Newcastle. . . . It is to be hoped that Klan rallies receive no local sanction or that no man is so greedy as to seek to profit by renting meeting places to a faceless, nameless mob.¹²

In registering its disdain for the Klan, the *Texarkana Gazette* made economic considerations paramount:

Why won't the Klan get off Texarkana's back? Here we are, trying our best to become a decent city, the kind of city that will attract new citizens, new business enterprises, new heavy industry—and just when we think that perhaps we are making a little progress, along comes the Ku Klux Klan and gets us branded anew all over the nation as a city afflicted by bigots inflamed with intolerance and ignorance.¹³

Even though the *Rebel*, an important Klan paper, announced that the Klan would "welcome all organizations which are helping to keep the beloved South white,"¹⁴ many people in sympathy with the program of the White Citizens' Councils requested them to inform the country at large that the South was not a "segment of the United States filled with blind racial prejudice, teeming with . . . Ku Klux Klanners."¹⁵ The Tampa, Florida, *Tribune* wanted it understood by all that "the Klansman's hood-muffled voice is not that of Tampa or Florida."¹⁶ When the Jacksonville, Florida, *Chronicle* thought that some people might believe that it had "some affiliation with the Klan" because it covered some of its activities, it declared, "Nothing could be further from the truth."¹⁷ As a matter of fact, not one of the southern editors responding to the questionnaire previously referred to indicated that he thought the Klan served a "worthwhile purpose" in 1960.¹⁸

¹¹Plant City *Courier*, June 2, 1960.

¹²*Hampton County Guardian*, June 22, 1960.

¹³*Texarkana Gazette*, November 2, 1960.

¹⁴College Park, Georgia, *Rebel*, September 30, 1960.

¹⁵Sumter, South Carolina, *Item*, July 26, 1960. Also see Florence, South Carolina, *News*, October 19, 1960, and Blountstown, Florida, *Record*, September 15, 1960.

¹⁶Tampa *Tribune*, October 18, 1960.

¹⁷Jacksonville *Chronicle*, August 12, 1960.

¹⁸It should by no means be assumed that this anti-Klan sentiment correlated with racial integration sentiment. Some editors participating in the poll, while expressing disfavor for the Klan, made remarks similar to this one

Proffered Klan political support was also rebuffed. After a Florida Klan official had endorsed Governor Orval E. Faubus of Arkansas for President, the State Chairman of the States Rights Party, which was backing Faubus, said that the Klan endorsement came "as an unwelcome surprise" since this support "was neither solicited nor wanted."¹⁹ The most stinging slap given to the Klan was that of Vice President Richard M. Nixon when he told the nation in a televised speech, after the Klan had announced it would support him for the presidency, "I obviously repudiate the Klan."²⁰

Thus, in executing its large-scale program of persuasion, the Klan faced a large-scale problem of ethos. Realizing this, a Public Relations Director for the organization said he planned "to change the image of the Klan." "People think we are hoodlums but we ain't," he told the public.²¹

But the public had to be convinced that the Klan was truly a respectable, significant organization. "No organization in the country has a clearer image than the Klan," observed the Columbus, Georgia, *Ledger-Enquirer*.²² Much to the Klan's regret, it did not enjoy its prestige of the middle 1920's. At that time, the well-known Kansas editor, William Allen White, a leading opponent of the Klan, admitted that it was "one of the powerful, probably the most powerful, single minority solidarity in American politics."²³ Thirty-five years later, in 1960, the Greenville, South Carolina, *News* could say with confidence: "The fact is that there are not enough Klansmen in the whole United States to have any effect on the outcome of the presidential election."²⁴ And the Spartanburg, South Carolina, *Herald* could state: "Anyone who claims the South is being led, or influenced, by the Ku Klux Klan is either totally misinformed, or abjectly dishonest."²⁵

The Klan, nevertheless, tried to enhance its ethos with the public by emphasizing how popular it was. While it claimed Govern-

made by a Mississippi editor: "My answers do not in any sense mean that I am a 'moderate' or an integrationist. I am for segregation 100% and am a member of the Citizens' Council."

¹⁹Miami *News*, September 26, 1960.

²⁰New York *Times*, October 14, 1960.

²¹Raleigh *Times*, November 25, 1960.

²²Columbus *Ledger-Enquirer*, November 26, 1960.

²³William Allen White, *Politics: The Citizens Business* (New York, 1924), 11-12.

²⁴Greenville *News*, quoted in Columbia *Record*, October 24, 1960.

²⁵Spartanburg *Herald*, October 26, 1960.

ors and United States Senators as members,²⁶ its favorite ego-building technique was the announcing of inflated estimations of attendance at its public meetings. A speaker estimated the crowd at a Stone Mountain rally at 15,000; a generous newspaper estimate was 400.²⁷ An agent of the Klan announced to reporters that 3,000 Klansmen would attend a meeting at Danville, Virginia;²⁸ 350 attended this meeting, and this number dwindled to less than 100 before the program was over.²⁹ In Decatur, Georgia, a local Klan dignitary predicted that 20,000 would attend a rally on the courthouse lawn;³⁰ newspaper reporters placed the crowd at around 2,000.³¹ Gross exaggerations like these made it difficult for the public to accept any claim to significance which the Klan made; instead, they made it all the easier to accept statements of public officials as to the strength of the Klan, such as the one made by Florida Governor LeRoy Collins: "The whole concept of Klanism is a spurious one from a standpoint of . . . any specific influence. That I think is true in Florida, and I think it is true elsewhere."³²

The Klan's effort to counteract this discouraging reception was evident in the speeches at the public meetings as it tried to present a favorable image. A Klan preacher insisted that the only real white men he had ever found were in the Klan.³³ Another speaker said that the Klan chose only patriotic white men devoted to the protection of their race:

We do not seek the membership of the weak-kneed; if you don't believe in your country enough to preserve it, you got no business not only in the Klan but you got no business in this country. If you do not believe in your race enough to help preserve it, you are unworthy of being called a white man.

The same speaker completed his defense by contending that the leaders of the Klan were churchmen and that they reflected the high morals of the entire membership:

You have heard about irreligiousness of the Klan and its being composed of hoodlums. . . . Maybe there have been some that entered the Klan that were unworthy; there have been. . . . But of the

²⁶*Texarkana Gazette*, November 1, 1960.

²⁷*Decatur-DeKalb News*, September 8, 1960.

²⁸*Greensboro News*, August 21, 1960.

²⁹*Richmond News Leader*, September 5, 1960.

³⁰*Decatur DeKalb New Era*, June 2, 1960.

³¹*Decatur-DeKalb News*, June 2, 1960.

³²*Miami Herald*, October 15, 1960.

³³*Rebel*, October 28, 1960.

thirteen men who compose the governing body of our Klan, . . . eleven are bona fide members of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, many of them with more than thirty years in the ministry. That's the kind of Klan that we are trying to build.

These limited attempts to bolster group ethos suggested a consciously defensive organization striving to overcome an inferiority complex. Public opinion compelled the Klan to defend a character badly blotched with deeds and thoughts which most citizens branded repulsive. But to defend to the degree the situation demanded could have resulted in a negative reaction from Klan members, especially those of lukewarm enthusiasm; an inadequate defense, on the other hand, would have been unrealistic in terms of what successful persuasion called for. Content to picture themselves as the whitest of white men, with churchmen as their leaders, Klan speakers did little to bypass either horn of this dilemma; greatly selling defense short on a point where any underdevelopment was dangerous, they hindered more than they helped the Klan cause.

The Klan cause of 1960 was definitely the cause of racial segregation. A Klan paper's report of the inaugural address of a top officer was limited to one sentence: He "gave a forceful speech to keep the races separated and the schools segregated."³⁴ All other considerations dear to the organization, i.e., the anti-Semitic, anti-foreigner, anti-Catholic themes, were secondary to this particular goal. The Klan's mission had its practical basis, as one Imperial Wizard, the highest Klan officer, told an audience: "We white people are the inheritors of this country. We do not intend to surrender it."³⁵ To the Klansman, the mission also had its Biblical basis; a second Imperial Wizard explained it in this way:

We always look to God's Holy Word as revealed in the Bible for our belief in the supremacy of the white race. . . . We know that we are the direct creation of God himself as recorded in Genesis. No man has ever presumed, not the rankest integrationist has ever presumed to say that Adam wasn't a white man. . . . that Abraham was not a white man; the rankest integrationist has never denied that the Christ . . . was anything but a white man. So we have a wonderful heritage to protect and preserve.

In the Klan speeches, there was an annoying sameness in the treatment of this central theme. A paper in sympathy with Klan principles thought it wise to make this statement in announcing a

³⁴*Ibid.*, September 30, 1960.

³⁵Greenville *Piedmont*, August 2, 1960.

public meeting: "We can promise you something different in this meeting from what you have been hearing."³⁶

Klan meeting audiences, therefore, heard "the problem" discussed at length, in a highly disjointed fashion. There was little agreement, however, as to what had brought about an awakened public interest in the Negro's civil rights. One speaker charged that Hollywood was making "a lot of race-mixing pictures" to promote integration, that "Judas Iscariot preachers" were advocating desegregation, that Sunday School teachers were teaching children that "there was no difference between a white rabbit and a brown rabbit and it followed from that there was no difference between white people and black people."³⁷ A speaker from Tennessee contended that the civil rights philosophy had gained ground because "the dollar sign is in the eyes of the people," i.e., they are attracted more to the liberalism which is concerned with government power projects, social security legislation, and price controls than they are attracted to the conservatism which hold that civil rights legislation for the Negro has gone too far. Still another speaker charged that the growth of Communism "in the last few years" in this country had influenced preachers to preach "that the Christian thing to do is to mix the blood of the races."

Whatever the operating causes were, declared the speakers at Klan meetings, a dismal picture had resulted. It was dismal economically speaking, said one speaker:

F.E.P.C., that means guaranteeing the niggers a right to work in the same job and on the same job as you do or I do. In effect, if that nigger comes to get a job before you do and he is turned down and then you go to get a job, and they hire you, well, you know what will happen, they'll go to Washington, take it into court, fire you off your job and put the nigger to work. Now that's F.E.P.C. . . . That's not America. A man has a right to select who he wants to work for him, whether he's a Negro, white, or whatever nationality he is.

But it was even more dismal socially speaking, warned another speaker:

A man called me up from Athens, Georgia, and he says . . . "My daughter left Athens, she's had one year at the University. She went to . . . North Carolina, got there and then came downstairs . . . a time of a student conference in North Carolina, just week before last. She came down, and there in the lobby, the girls, white girls, some of

³⁶*Decatur Suburban Sentinel*, November 23, 1960.

³⁷Kannapolis, *North Carolina, Independent*, September 5, 1960; *Durham Herald*, September 4, 1960.

them were dancing in the arms of Negro boys. She ran on out and in the pool, she found there they were more than half naked . . . out there they were swimming in the lake with Negro boys." That's in North Carolina, and that was a girl from Athens, Georgia.

The revolting picture presented, the implied threats to economic security and social status, and the instilled fear of people in influential places working for the Negro, were enough to renew and to re-enforce many listeners' feeling of need for a well-directed program of action and retaliation. Yet, Klan members and most potential Klan members, seeing how boldly the Negro was asserting himself all around them in matters involving individual rights, did not need to be convinced that they faced a problem with serious ramifications. To these people, who were the targets of the Klan's communication, the time to elaborate on the problem, other than to revivify its effects once again, was past—the problem was real and they were worried, concerned people. It was time to consider solutions and to come to a decision, without further delay, as to what could be set in motion so as to rectify the wrongs which they thought had been done to them.

As for the solution, Klan speakers were certain as to what it was not. It was not an extension of the concept of equality of men. One speaker went to the Bible and to the history of Man to find his justification for ruling out this solution:

Your hear lots today about all people being equal—well, the Bible doesn't say that. Thomas Jefferson said it . . . even though I'm a great admirer of his, I don't rank him with the Godhead. . . . Certainly, we do not deny that in the beginning, probably they all were, sixty centuries ago, all men were started equal. But racial equality ended right there and then, because the white race forged ahead and has been ahead ever since and will stay ahead if we don't give our birthright away.

Neither was the solution the election of a particular party or a particular candidate over another. This became apparent to the Klan when both the Democratic and Republican Parties featured strong civil rights planks in their platforms. Both Senator John F. Kennedy and Vice President Nixon, therefore, were roundly castigated, often during the same Klan meeting. One speaker referred to Kennedy and asked:

He's got Negroes all over the South working; in fact, he stated that he would integrate Negroes everywhere possible in his campaign for the presidency. Now how can our governors come out and support an integrationist, outright integrationist?

Another speaker later shouted:

Anybody that'll vote the Democratic ticket . . . will become a traitor to the Southland and to the Constitution of the United States.

And yet another Klan speaker addressed his audience in this manner:

Nixon is the first American that I ever heard of that went down into a nigger country and let them spit on him and didn't say anything about it. . . . And he even said that he's going to . . . call the troops out more than Eisenhower did in Little Rock.

With both major candidates and both major parties eliminated from further consideration as solutions, and with no serious thought given to forming a third party, especially after Governor Faubus' declination of a third party nomination, the person wanting to follow Klan policy was a man without a party. This was the way one Klan speaker put it: "The white people of America have no one, actually, that they can honestly support in this great campaign."

Thus, with philosophical and political solutions both discarded, the solution vacuum remained. Bizarre plans were plentiful. One speaker pleaded for 100 per cent support for a "fire-your-Negro-campaign," as he said, "If you have a nigger employed in your home or business, I call upon you as a loyal white man to fire him as soon as you can replace him with a white man."³⁸ More than one speaker seriously called for closing of the schools. One speaker indicated how gladly he would accept this solution:

I'd rather my children would play down in the pasture with the yearlings and the hogs; I'd rather they'd fail to get any education at all, I'd rather they'd be as ignorant as a bull or a mule, than for them to sit down in classrooms with Negroes. . . . One of the best things . . . would be tonight if every school in America could be torn down, and I'm not advocating violence—were to be torn down, and especially colleges and universities. . . . I tell you where your trouble is—it's in your schools, and in your colleges, in your churches, and not in your back allies.

Other solutions were mentioned. One speaker suggested that the welfare program for Negroes be terminated and that they be sent "up North where they belong." A Georgia speaker advocated county redistricting: He recommended that Georgia's 159 counties be reduced to 60 so that there would be at least twice as many white voters as Negro voters in each county.³⁹

³⁸Richmond *News Leader*, September 5, 1960; Danville, Virginia, *Register*, September 4, 1960.

³⁹Atlanta *Constitution*, December 1, 1960.

The most striking thing about the entire discussion of solutions was the prevalence of the idea that physical force could be used if necessary; while there was no direct appeal to resort to violence, there was often strong intimation that it could be relied upon if other measures failed. There were definite overtones in a statement like this, for instance:

Back in the early days of our country, there was a rebellion, and it was called Shay's Rebellion. It was a bunch of poor people, like us, that had to work for a living that got out and rebelled. Here's what Jefferson said about it. He said, "God forbid that we should ever be twenty years without such a rebellion. . . . What signify a few lives lost in a century or two? What country can preserve its liberty if the rulers are not warned from time to time that the people preserve the spirit of resistance? Let them take arms; the tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of tyrants." That's what Thomas Jefferson said—he was as much a Klan as anybody in the country—that's what we said, too.

Similarly, when a high Klan officer said, in referring to the Negroes' recent attempts to use public beaches formerly reserved for white people, "The nigger may swim in, but he will never know when he comes out,"⁴⁰ and when another referred to the efficacy of the "Klan Bureau of Investigation,"⁴¹ there was more than a suggestion that these leaders approved of vigilante justice, if they were in the positions to administer it.

Even though some Klan speakers cautioned against the use of force, such as the speaker who said, "For God's sake don't go out here and take your gun and kill a bunch of innocent niggers," there were others who openly sanctioned the use of force, such as the speaker who counseled his listeners:

Any white man . . . in a restaurant when a nigger sits down next to him ought to stand right up and knock the nigger down to the floor; and I'll tell you one thing, a Klansman or any white person that wouldn't come to their aid and help and defend them, legally and in every way possible, isn't a white person. They ought to move to Africa and live with niggers, if that's the way they feel.

The same speaker made no apology for not specifically explaining how the Klan as a group would accomplish its ends:

You don't know how many we are, you don't know how strong we are, or how we are going to go about accomplishing the aims that we intend to do, but I'll tell you right now, we are not going to allow any niggers to destroy our schools, churches, homes, or we're not going to let them sit down next to us in restaurants.

⁴⁰*Rebel*, September 30, 1960.

⁴¹Tucker, Georgia, *Tribune*, June 2, 1960.

More often than not, therefore, the threat and the justification of force were always in the background; Klansmen themselves said that the purpose of staging organized Klan street-walkings was to show the strength of the organization.⁴² "THERE WILL BE PROTECTION IN ATLANTA should a crisis arise!" exclaimed the *Rebel*, after a Klan demonstration in downtown Atlanta.⁴³

Even though the Klan surely recognized that the situation called for discussion of courses of action, Klan speakers failed to explain and defend in a rational way a single, direct answer to the troublesome problem that they developed in detail. A thoughtful person arriving at a Klan meeting wondering what exactly he could do, without resorting to violence, to help effect a more desirable situation, was probably in an even more bewildered state when the meeting ended. Frustrated all the more by the unsolved problem which he knew he and his fellows faced and which had again been ramified, he had listened to different speakers cursorily discuss different solutions; regardless of how much he had hoped for a reasonable, down-to-earth consideration of the practicality of some one solution, he had heard nothing of the kind. More than that, since the Klan offered no solution to satisfy an already suspicious public that it was clearly *not* contemplating use of force, its critics could now be certain that their derogatory opinion was warranted. Klan speakers, in a rambling fashion, may have intensified the awareness of a problem among supporters and doubters alike, because their emphasis was here; but speaking as leaders of an "action organization" at the opportune time to explore solutions judiciously and to weigh various recommendations carefully in terms of their promises and consequences, they made little contribution in the respect of connecting a specific solution with a felt need. In the larger view, rather than allaying unrest and confusion in the alarmed South, Klan speakers only aggravated the situation.

Certain conclusions can be drawn from this study of the Ku Klux Klan's attempt to present its best case to the public. Protesting under its blazing crosses on hilltops, in pastures, at motor speedways, and in vacant lots alongside highways, the Klan in 1960 offered no inviting program of constructive action. Weakened from within and without, it ground out the story that had been told many times o'er, not precisely sure as to what or whom its enemies were,

⁴²*Savannah News*, November 24, 1960.

⁴³*Rebel*, December 12, 1960.

but flailing about, striking at many. All the familiar Klan paraphernalia and customs were present—the crosses, the Confederate flag by the United States flag, the high peaked hats, the white clusters of garbed Klansmen and Klanswomen, the lusty singing of the hymn, "The Old Rugged Cross," the swishing satin robes in brilliant hues of red, blue, black, green, and gold worn by the Wizards, Cyclopes, Dragons, Kluds, Night Hawks, and Titans—but these had little distinctly 1960 about them. There were some visible signs of 1960, to be sure—the "No Integration" banners on car windows, the "Vote White—Vote Faubus" signs, a new theme song: "Send Them Back to Africa, Every One." But the speeches, the core of the Klan's persuasive effort, were not shaped according to what 1960 demanded if they were to do their share in halting the continuing demise of the Klan, thereby removing the organization from what one of its members called its Gethsemane.

According to one student of the South, Rembert W. Patrick, that will never be possible:

The world is in ferment, and a majority of the peoples of the world belong to the colored races. As a world power, and for the sake of her very life, the United States cannot agree to any system which makes any part of her colored population second class citizens. Thus any victory which the segregationists may win will be temporary. . . . For too long the Negro has been held in the caste system. That system cannot endure with a majority of the nation and of the world in opposition to it.⁴⁴

As 1960 closed, nevertheless, the Klan gave no suggestion that it would change in purpose or in method. For the most part, the Klan is impervious to criticism, whatever its nature. It states its attitude toward its critics:

Opposition to the Klan emanates from sources which do not, or will not learn, and evil groups whom we restrain by reflecting the light of truth, where cunning prevails. If no evil intention existed there would be no criticism of the Klan.⁴⁵

Exonerating itself in this way, the Klan renewed its determination in purpose as it faced the future. "We shall never surrender," cried a speaker at a Klan meeting, "We have just started to fight . . . We must be willing to pay the price whatever the extremes to turn back black tyranny."⁴⁶

⁴⁴Rembert W. Patrick, *Race Relations in the South* (Tallahassee, 1958), 21.

⁴⁵Printed card, "The Ku Klux Klan" (Atlanta?, n.d.), in author's possession.

⁴⁶Atlanta Constitution, December 1, 1960.

The Klan is determined, whatever its self-styled methods are, to be eternal. "When the last shot is fired and the smoke has cleared away, we will stand victorious over the forces of Satan," prophesized a Klan preacher.⁴⁷ Whether it is eternal or not, its counterparts, with different trappings and titles, will be; protected by a government under law in their right to express their convictions, they will use this right to attempt to deny the rights of others. In trials such as these, the spirit of our republic must find its breath and vigor.

⁴⁷Vicksburg Post, August 5, 1960.

NIGEL DENNIS: THE RETURN OF INTELLECTUAL SATIRE

GEORGE E. WELLWARTH

FOR A MAN BORN AS LONG AGO AS 1912 Nigel Dennis's literary output has been unusually small—two novels and two plays. As a rule, the cliché that lack of quantity indicates high quality does not hold true in literature: a writer who says little usually has little to say. That, however, is not the case with Nigel Dennis. His work seems to be small in bulk for much the same reason that the end-product of a refining process is small in bulk: what remains after all the distillations is the pure, ultimate essence of the substance.

Perhaps the reason for Dennis's excellence is that he is an unabashedly intellectual dramatist. At the same time his plays are vastly entertaining and first-rate theater. They do not, however, resemble the average Broadway or West End play. They are not, like commercial dramas, built around a situation into which some references to serious problems have been injected. Dennis's plays, like Shaw's, are built around a serious moral or intellectual problem, and the situation of the play grows out of the problem (that is to say, it is created solely for the purpose of theatrically illustrating the problem).

The problems that Dennis chooses to discuss in his two plays (*Cards of Identity* and *The Making of Moo*) are nothing less than two basic problems with which the mind of man is confronted, namely religion and psychology: his relationship to the universe and his relationship to himself. The two plays are preceded by a long and brilliantly written essay which further strengthens Dennis's right to be looked upon as a worthy, direct-line descendant of Shaw.

The two plays are philosophically related, as Dennis emphasizes in his preface, although they deal with totally different situations. *The Making of Moo* is subtitled "A History of Religion in Three Acts." It is Dennis's expression of his atheistic beliefs. Despite his

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non-belief, he is not particularly opposed to religion *per se*. Dennis is an extreme individualist, and as such he feels understandably irritated by the attempt of believers to whittle him down to their image. One might get the idea that Dennis suffers from a paranoid complex about religion. Not so! He simply wants to be left alone to do as he pleases. He does not want to bother anyone, and he expects the same treatment in return. He does not want to be bothered by proselytizing busybodies or by prescriptive *pronunciamientos* on morals and mores from a dogmatic Olympus. He contends that the sickness lies rather with those who cannot be content to find peace for themselves and insist on enjoining the "joys" of their "peace" on everyone else, forcibly if necessary. Furthermore, Dennis feels that all evangelical zeal is based on a huge, mushrooming chain-reaction of swindle since all religions originate in one man's idea and his need to fortify it with fellow-believers (known as disciples). In short, Dennis's views of the beginnings of religion can be summed up in the well-worn saying, "Religion began when the first knave met the first fool." *The Making of Moo* is about the origin of a religion—the religion of Moo. The implication is that all religions begin and develop like the religion of Moo.

Moo is the name of a new god created by an English civil engineer to replace Ega, an old god whom he has inadvertently "killed." It seems that Ega was a river god who was suffocated when the engineer (Frederick Compton by name) built a dam across the African stream which he inhabited or permeated. Compton's British sense of the white man's burden and all that sort of thing is deeply disturbed when he hears of this, especially as the crime rate seems to be going up sharply now that Ega is no longer around to punish wrongdoers. He determines to whip up another god for the natives before he leaves. Moo, named after the lowing of the cows which infest Compton's front lawn, is the result. Moo starts out as a purely rational, personified code of ethics which Compton is going to work out for the benefit and improvement of the natives—a sort of mathematically systematized *Tao*. But then Compton's wife and secretary join in. She wants to write the Bible of Moo, and the secretary, an amateur musician, wants to write the Liturgy of Moo. Pretty soon Compton himself gets carried away with all this emotionalism, and the first act ends as he harangues his butler on the subject of Moo in the manner of St. Paul to the Corinthians.

In the second act we see the Moo religion two years later. The

Comptons and their secretary have remained in Africa as "prophets;" their butler has been appointed Pope. Moo is now in the primitive state of religion; barbaric ceremonies, human sacrifices, prophesies direct from the horse's mouth, rampant emotionalism, and so on. No trace of Moo's proposed rationalism remains. The religion is now based exclusively on emotion, revelation, and atavism. This is what happens to all religions, Dennis tells us in his preface. The theologians created something Invisible and Intangible, and consequently Inexplicable. Something Inexplicable can either be rejected out of hand as ridiculous or it can be accepted on blind faith. The latter is usually the case since people have a psychological need to cling to something. Since it is Inexplicable and, therefore, believed in blindly, the theologians—the impresarios of the show—can manipulate it at will without danger of being scoffed at. Thus the religion, in order to survive, pronounces such dogmas as "Love Moo—and you will never think again" or "And Moo has said: 'In my arms there is no room for reason, and where there is no room for reason there is no room for doubt, and where there is no room for doubt there is room for Moo only.'" Persons who point out flaws in the religion at this point are usually accused of heresy and eliminated at an *auto-da fé*, a ceremony designed to make new men out of the onlookers while it makes no men out of the participants. This edifying ritual, which took the form of burning alive among the European Christians and heart-gouging among the Aztecs, is here represented by the beheading of Fairbrother and his clerk. This stage gradually leads into the religion's solidified form.

In the third act, which takes place many, many years later, Compton is a senile patriarch, and the Church of Moo is so well established that businessmen are donating funds to it and scientists are "discovering" in carbon deposits evidence of its existence millions of years ago. Barbarities are no longer practised; everything is staid and respectable; and religion is transacted over tea-cups instead of buckets of blood. In short, the Moovian religion at this stage is similar to the Church of England today, or, as Dennis puts it in his preface, "Protestantism retains its barbarities only in verbal form: worshippers still sing 'There is a fountain filled with blood' and even ask to be washed in it; but by now the blood has ceased to register as such and would create sheer disgust were it not regarded simply as a colourful word in a fanciful jug." At the end of the play Compton's son, a Moovian priest, goes off into the

wilderness to seek the "original purity" of the religion, and the allegory thus comes full circle.

The Making of Moo is essentially an attack on universalized absolutism—there would be nothing wrong with Moovianism (or with any other religion), according to Dennis, if its devotees did not insist that its truth is absolute. For if it is absolute it follows that nothing else is right and, therefore, everyone should believe in it. And that is where the individualist stands up and begs to be excused: "Everything absolute belongs to pathology," says Nietzsche—which does not mean that no one may give tongue to an absolute if he pleases, only that its pathology should not be enjoined on others. The intellectual may, if he please, make God in his own image: we rebel only when we are made in it as well."

The intellectual with the obsessive *idée fixe* is unhappily concerned with our social life as well as with our transcendental life. The religious fanatic's counterpart is the social brainwasher, the planner who wants to mold individual psyches to conform to his pre-conceived blueprints. The Moovian Prophets, who want to control our lives by forcing their religious "beliefs" on us, are supplemented in modern society by the Identity Club members, who wish to impose their personal dogma of social behavior on us.

Cards of Identity illustrates Dennis's thesis that modern psychology, with its emphasis on making people "adjust" to the society around them, is stifling individualism. For Dennis personal conspicuousness is not a sign of mental aberration, and his play is a protest against the pressing-iron technique of modern psychiatry. The process of psycho-analysis is analogous to the process of religious conversion: the Fisher for Souls and the Fisher for Minds are essentially one and the same. Man, according to the modern political brain-washers and psycho-analysts, must submerge his identity if he is to be "saved": "... only when he swallows his pride can he be hooked to safety by the Great Fisherman. Once this has happened, his life and identity become utterly changed. Packed in a tin with other decapitated fish, his broken loneliness disappears; he is now a segment of the One Truth."

The way the psycho-analysts accomplish this is by playing on the patient's inner life, on his memories, Dennis tells us. A man is made what he is by the experiences he has undergone. These experiences are all in the past and consequently exist only in the man's memory of them. It follows that if a man's memory of things is

changed the things themselves are actually changed, and the man's personality becomes re-formed in accordance with the new set of experiences he now remembers. Thus, if a man can be made to "remember" things which never really happened (through suggestion, hypnosis, persuasion, terror, etc.) and if his personality is contingent upon his memory of his past experiences, then a man can be molded into any desired psychic shape. He becomes a piece of wet clay on a potter's wheel.

Cards of Identity is about a club, the Identity Club, whose members occupy themselves with changing other people's personalities. Three members, posing as husband, wife, and son, have taken over a country estate. They proceed to "make over" various people of the neighborhood. The doctor becomes a gardener, his nurse becomes a mental patient, another local character becomes the butler, complete with memories of alcoholism and crime in his younger days. At the annual meeting of the Identity Club the three conspirators plan to do away with the president, who is senile, and replace him with their leader. After an abortive attempt to poison the president which results in the death of the founder's daughter, they incite another member to shoot him. After this the club clears out, and, its influence removed, the victims slowly come back to their senses.

That is all there is to the plot. The interest lies in Dennis's thesis that the Identity Club is comparable to all modern organizations dedicated to the standardization of personality, *e.g.*, psychiatrists and psycho-analysts, totalitarian political parties, absolutist religious sects, and similar groups. Dennis is strictly for the individual's right of self-determination. If we *must* have a religion then he is for the worship of the fourth century divine Pelagius, the opponent of St. Augustine, who is Dennis's *bête noire*. The main tenet of Pelagianism is that man has complete freedom of the will—no matter what his past may have been he has the ability at any given moment in his life to make a decision for good or evil. He must, therefore, accept full moral responsibility for each and every one of his acts. If he does this he is safe. The Identity Club and the Moo-vians can only gain control of those who think they are not responsible for what they do—of those who feel they are determined by factors outside themselves.

In Nigel Dennis the English-speaking intellectual drama has found a new representative. *Cards of Identity* and *The Making of*

Moo are superbly written plays with an innate and instinctive sense of the theater. They, together with the brilliantly witty preface (so witty in spots that the brilliance outsparkles the clarity) constitute the best that the British drama has produced since the death of Shaw.

THE SPEECH CRITIC LOOKS AT CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN PRESSURE GROUPS

E. SAMUEL DUDLEY

A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY

FOR YEARS POLITICAL SCIENTISTS have been examining the pressure group and have almost unanimously agreed that this is one of the most potent elements on the American political scene. Books and journal articles written by students of government express the view that, increasingly, "American politics is the politics of organized groups."

They do not seem to feel that this is undesirable, since one group serves to balance the pressure applied by another. Also, in a representative democracy the individual is more effective as a member of an organized pressure group. Through such membership the citizen actively joins in the great American debate which never ceases and gives us a government worthy of our concern.

The political scientists have recently begun to evaluate their past research on pressure groups and they have concluded that many areas need further study. Henry W. Ehrmann writes:

In order to understand the role of organized groups in relation to public policy it will be necessary to study the efforts which interest groups are making to win a favorable audience with the public at large.¹

Later in the same article he points out that,

Different groups will develop different propaganda activities either to win support or at least to neutralize opponents. . . . What audiences do the groups strive to reach and what are the characteristics of their appeal? . . . Interesting . . . also [are] such more technical but connected questions as the relationship of interest groups to press, to radio . . .²

Unintentionally, perhaps, the political scientist is inviting the

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¹Henry W. Ehrmann, "The Comparative Study of Interest Groups," *Interest Groups on Four Continents* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958), p. 3.

²*Ibid.*, p. 4.

speech critic to join him in the investigation of contemporary pressure groups. The "efforts which interest groups are making to win a favorable audience with the public at large," and the audiences "the groups strive to reach," and the "characteristics of their appeal" are all matters in which the speech critic is vitally interested. More important, the speech scholar should be the most competent person for such study.

Above all, the student of contemporary public address would find a challenge in studying contemporary pressure groups, because representatives of such organizations contribute an important segment of today's speaking. As one of our own speech men, Stewart Judson Crandell, stated in 1946:

... even though the fame and influence of the speakers involved
... are insufficient to warrant individual study; collectively, their
influence may have been immeasurably greater than a single orator of
note.³

WHAT ARE "PRESSURE GROUPS"?

The search for a conclusive definition of the term "pressure groups," or, as they are frequently called, "interest groups," has been going on for years. For the purposes of this report it is not important that we join the dispute. The following definition is only to help generally clarify the type of group being discussed: "Those formally organized associations of people with some common interest, which as a regular part of their planned activity attempt to influence government policy." Such groups may apply pressures either by direct contact with government leaders or indirectly through appeals to the voters. Labor unions, the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the National Education Association are but a few examples of the groups that fit the definition.

HOW SHOULD PRESSURE GROUPS BE STUDIED?

Unlike the many fine examples we have of rhetorical analyses of significant historical or contemporary speakers, we do not have

³Stewart Judson Crandell, "Social Control Techniques in the Speeches of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union," Ph. D. dissertation, School of Speech, Northwestern University, June, 1946.

a long list of studies on contemporary pressure groups. We do, however, have a few, some of which are quite good. I am sure that the authors of these studies would join me in saying, "Let's hope that they will be used as stepping stones to more and finer investigations of this type."

Each study will probably suggest its own limitations, but several general approaches are possible. These include study of:

1. The speaking by a single pressure group.
2. The speaking activities of the interest groups concerned with one particular issue.
3. Many types of interest groups to discover the degree of consistency in their speaking activities.

The following are some factors that might be considered in using any of these three general approaches:

1. Who are the chief spokesmen for the group?
2. Who does their speaking? National officers? Volunteer spokesmen? Paid representatives?
3. What role do the individual members of the group play in the speaking campaigns?
4. What kind of ground work is laid for the speakers?
5. To whom do they speak? What kinds of audiences are attracted by the appeals of these groups?
6. What is the basis for the ethical appeal of the group? Of the individual spokesmen?
7. What are the main emotional appeals used? Are more emotional appeals used in the speeches than in the printed matter?
8. What are the main lines of argument used in their promotional attempts?
9. Do all of the speakers use basically the same arguments? Does the printed material distributed by the group use the same arguments?
10. Are the speeches standard throughout the organization? Are they written by the central headquarters or by each speaker?
11. How well are the speeches coordinated with other promotional activities? Are press releases used? Is most of the speaking done independently, or in conjunction with a major campaign in which all promotional devices are used?
12. To what extent is radio or television utilized? How does this relate to the group's attitude toward the use of the other mass media?
13. What are some of the measurable results of the group's activities?
14. Where do the greatest strengths of the speech programs of such groups lie?
15. What are the causes of their greatest weaknesses?
16. How do the social and political factors of the period affect the activities of these groups?

These are only a few of the questions that deserve study. For continued study over a period of years, or for comparative studies, an investigator could prepare a set of standard questions with which

he might gather an abundance of pertinent information about many interest groups in a relatively short time.

CAN THIS PROBLEM BE STUDIED?

Would study of a pressure group make a good research problem? To answer this question, the following criteria are conventionally used to determine the research potential of a given problem:

1. Has the subject been thoroughly and competently investigated?

Speech scholars have only begun to study these groups. Historians, political scientists, and social scientists have been working on such organizations for years, and we may find some of the answers we seek already in the publications of these other disciplines. It is our responsibility, however, to answer the numberless questions related to speech in which others are not interested. The political scientist, for instance, is primarily concerned with the effect of such groups on our overall political structure—while we want to know how these organizations achieve their results, especially those accomplished partly through public speaking.

2. Can a problem be clearly defined?

This question is particularly vital to this type of study. Since little research has been done on contemporary pressure groups, many avenues remain to be investigated, and the temptation may be to explore them all at the same time. The best answer to, "Can such studies be limited?" is that it has already been done successfully by Stewart Judson Crandell in his W.C.T.U. study,⁴ by Q. S. Lafforge in his study of the American Medical Association,⁵ and to a degree, at least, by this writer in his study of the United World Federalists.⁶

3. Is enough material available for this type of study?

Materials are abundant, and more are being produced every day. Their availability depends upon the resourcefulness of the individual researcher. The willingness of an organization to turn over its files or to grant interviews to an investigator will depend partly upon

⁴Crandell, *op. cit.*

⁵Q. S. Lafforge, "A Study of Persuasion Techniques Employed in the American Medical Association's Campaign Against National Health Insurance," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1953.

⁶E. S. Dudley, "A History and Analysis of the Promotional Methods and Public Speaking of United World Federalists, Incorporated, 1947-1957," Ph. D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1959.

how they think he will use information given him. Therefore, their leaders need an assurance from the researcher of how he intends to use the information. And, if researchers expect to get more information from such groups, they must keep that trust.

Materials for such studies are found in numerous places. Some of the more obvious locations are:

- a. the files of the organization's national office.
- b. national leaders' private files.
- c. library clipping files.
- d. newspaper accounts of the association's activities.
- e. correspondence with the national leaders of the group.
- f. interviews with the organization's spokesmen and officers.
- g. literature distributed by the group.
- h. printed or recorded speeches by their spokesmen.
- i. biographical sketches of their speakers and news releases prepared by the organization.
- j. books authored by leaders of the association.
- k. periodicals and newsletters published by the group.

Investigators should remember that lack of cooperation and/or source material from the national office of an organization does not preclude study of that group. Investigation of a local branch or chapter may eliminate costly and time-consuming travel, and may serve to gain the initial respect of the group's leaders. This could lead to more extensive future research concerning that organization.

4. Am I competent to do this study?

Assuming that the investigator is well trained in the first place, or that he will do his research under the direction of competent critics, the question of personal bias still exists. For instance, should a scholar study a group of which he is a member? I say, "Why not?" As a member he probably knows more about the organization than a non-member would. He may also have access to files, names and addresses, and other sources of information not available to outsiders. Some might question the objectivity of a member. A competent scholar, however, should be objective in all of his research. The question of objectivity is involved in almost every research problem. Even if the student has no personal bias toward his subject when he starts, he usually has one by the end of the study. As one studies the social and political circumstances surrounding his problem, becomes intimately acquainted with the personalities involved, and probes deeply into the history and philosophy of the ideas pertaining to his subject, it becomes increasingly difficult to remain aloof and beyond emotional involvement. Unwarranted bias,

however, must not slant the reporting. This is not to say that there should be no critical evaluation, but rather that the judgment must be based on evidence and sound reasoning rather than on the prejudice of the writer.

In summary, the subject of contemporary American pressure groups has not been thoroughly and competently investigated for our purposes. If care is taken to prevent the researcher from trying to explore all aspects of this new territory at once, limitation and definition of very good studies on this question are clearly possible. If speech researchers are resourceful, tactful, persistent, and professional, sufficient material is available for countless studies of contemporary pressure groups. And, in the opinion of the writer, a competent speech scholar should be able to study any pressure group, regardless of his affiliation with or bias toward the group. The speech profession has a real responsibility to fill some of the gaps in research on pressure groups; the responsibility is one for which the speech critic is well qualified. Here, for the student of contemporary public speaking, is both an opportunity and a challenge.

THE HISTRIONICS

BILL PARSONS

MANY ATTEMPTS HAVE BEEN MADE in the history of this country to organize amateur theatrical groups; "students of the early American Theater are familiar with the fact that the beginnings of the theater in America were the beginnings of amateur theater history in America."¹ Some of these groups tried to exist at the box office and produce plays equal to the best professional productions. Many failed, but a successful attempt was made in New Orleans in the late 1840's and early 50's. The name of the organization was the *Louisiana Histrionic Association*, popularly known as the *Histrionics*. The purpose of this paper is to examine the *Histrionics* from the standpoint of financial backing, place of production, membership, and the type of plays presented.

Even though the *Histrionics* was an amateur group, only the men were actually neophytes. The ladies were professional actresses. However, this was probably the usual situation in 1850.

The person who first thought of an amateur organization in New Orleans, and how the idea was sold to the populace, is unknown. One thing is certain, the leading citizens joined hands to back the organization from the very beginning.²

The people of New Orleans contributed freely to build a theatre for the amateurs, and the building was completed in early March, 1849.³ The total cost of "erecting the Hall, the amount paid for ground rent, insurance, wardrobe, scenery, and other incidental expenses"⁴ was \$10,309.65. On May 3, 1849, the amount still owed on the building and other items was \$3,600.00, and regular expenses totaled about \$165.00 a week. The \$3,600.00 was due on or before

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¹Clinton William Bradford, "The Non-Professional Theater in Louisiana," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of Speech, Louisiana State University, 1951), p. 1.

²New Orleans *Weekly Delta*, Jan. 8, 1849.

³New Orleans *Daily Delta*, The following description is taken from several issues of the *Daily Delta* in the year 1849-1850.

⁴New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, May 5, 1849.

July 1, 1849; and so, at a meeting of the association on May 3, 1849, the group decided that each honorary member would be assessed at least an additional five dollars over the regular subscription fee of ten dollars for the abbreviated first season. They also decided that the first performance in each month would be for the benefit of the treasury of the organization, and, on that night, tickets would sell for the price of one dollar each.⁵ Whether the assessment was ever collected is unknown, but at the end of the season "sixty or seventy" of the honorary members gave an additional \$622.00 to meet the expenses of the association.⁶ The following year the *Histrionics* raised the subscription fee from ten to twenty-five dollars.

The theatre of the Association was located in a new subdivision of New Orleans called Melpomenia, after the muse of music, on Nayades Street, between Melpomene and Thalia. The Lafayette Railroad ran in front of the theatre which made it easily accessible to those who lived at a distance.⁷ At the end of the first season, the building was "repaired," or perhaps the finishing touches were just then being added. The *Daily Delta* gave a vivid description of the newly decorated interior and other improvements on October 15, 1849.

On entering the building we were no less surprised than delighted at the many improvements which have been made during the last summer. The floor has been raised several inches, so as to afford a better view of the stage, to all parts of the audience, and the rear of the building has been extended and enlarged, so as to give more stage room, and larger accommodations for the actors. The walls have been painted a delicate pink,—a color which will no doubt be agreeable to the tastes of the fair that are won't to assemble in their favorite temple of beauty, fashion and Drama. Rows of gilt stars twinkle along the cornice, and crimson curtains serve to deepen and mellow the light into just the shade, best adapted to set off, with most effect, the brilliant eyes, snowy necks, and lily complexions of the lovely patrons of the Amateur Drama. Other improvements have been made, all contributing to heighten the effect of the performances and increase the comfort and pleasure of the audience. We should not, in this connection, omit to refer to an act of no less judgment than liberality in Mr. Peter Conrey, Jr., one of the most constant and useful friends of the Histrionics,—by which the adjoining lot was secured for the benefit of the association, Mr. Conrey having advanced the money to purchase it. One of the greatest features in the future exhibitions of the Histrionics will be their splendid new Amateur Orchestra, . . . This orchestra consists of eighteen accomplished amateur performers, . . . The orchestra is a complete one, embracing all the necessary instruments, and is superior to those which are to be found in almost any other theatre in this country, except the Orleans.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*Daily Delta*, Oct. 18, 1849.

⁷*Weekly Delta*, Jan. 8, 1849.

The *Louisiana Histrionic Association* was a well planned business organization, governed by a constitution and run by men wise in the ways of both the theatrical and business worlds. The purposes of the *Histrionics* were stated in the *Weekly Delta*, on January 8, 1849.

Our readers are aware of the formation of a society of gentlemen of this city, with a view of encouraging a taste for the Drama, and promoting amateur performances among our young men. The Association is purely a private and scientific, or literary one—its objects being to improve the elocutionary powers of the members, to promote good taste and a familiarity with dramatic literature, to afford a pleasing and instructive amusement, and to establish a pleasant and fashionable resort, where nothing offensive to the most sensitive taste can interfere with the full enjoyment of dramatic entertainments.

The members of the Association were divided into two categories: active and honorary. As far as can be determined, the active members were those who participated in the production of the shows, and the honorary members were subscribers to the Association. Active members seem to have run the business of the organization; but honorary members were free to offer suggestions, and they were always ready to help, especially in financial matters.

The general public could not attend the plays of the group without the permission of an honorary member. Even then, "guests" had to be ladies or non-residents, and each of the members could invite no more than two. In the first season, the *Histrionics* had 450 honorary members. Multiply this number by three, since each could invite two guests, and the group had a potential audience of 1,350. Of course, it is highly unlikely that all the members attended any one performance and brought the maximum number of guests.⁸

According to the *Delta*, the "upper crust" of society, especially the younger set, met here regularly. Knowledge of this fact should have been a great help in choosing the repertory of the Association. Furthermore, the rule that guests must be ladies or non-residents did not noticeably affect the size of the audience, since New Orleans was one of the most popular resort towns in America and had a large non-resident population throughout the winter months. The rule was never rigidly enforced for long, and eventually it was dropped altogether.

According to the by-laws of the organization, at least four productions were to be given each month, and one night each month was to be a ticket night for the benefit of the treasury. Therefore,

⁸*Daily Delta*, Oct. 17-19, 1849.

a performance was given every Monday night, and the first Monday of each month was chosen as ticket night.⁹

The first performance of the *Louisiana Histrionic Association* was given on March 26, 1849, before "the most brilliant audience we have seen this season."¹⁰ The play selected was Boucicault's comedy *London Assurance*. It seems to have been well acted and drew high praise from the *Weekly Delta*.¹¹

On August 11, 1849, the *Picayune* listed the officers of the Association: F. M. McAlpin, president; Theo. [sic] A. James, treasurer; J. D. Marks, stage manager; and H. G. Person, secretary. James S. Charles was the acting manager.

As acting manager of the *Histrionics*, Charles had the responsibility of the present day director. He was, therefore, one of the more important members of the organization. He was given a benefit on the last night of the 1849 season, and the *Daily Delta* made the following comments.

On Monday night, the season of the Histrionics will close with a benefit to Mr. Charles, the manager, and main spring of the association ever since it started in its career. The claims of Mr. Charles are of a peculiar character. He is one of the best fellows in the world, and the most useful and talented general actor that has appeared in New Orleans since our sojourn here. He is always ready for any part. In tragedy or comedy, burletta or farce, he is always up to his task. As acting manager of the Histrionics, he has been indefatigable in his attention to the duties of his position, in drilling and teaching the amateurs. Whenever there was a vacancy in the ranks, and any of the roles were absent, Mr. Charles was always called on to fill the part, and would do so with remarkable facility. Well, indeed, does he deserve a bumper from the amateurs. All the friends of the association should go to work to make his benefit a splendid affair.

After the benefit the *Delta* reported:

Despite the excessive heat of the weather, Mr. Charles had a very handsome benefit last night, at the Melpomenian Temple, on Nayades street . . .

During the play . . . a scene took place which caused much gratification to all the patrons of the Temple. It was the presentation of a handsome silver cup to Mr. Charles, the beneficiary, accompanied by a highly complimentary and eulogistic speech from Mr. Thayer, which was replied to in excellent taste by Mr. Charles.¹²

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰*Weekly Delta*, April 2, 1849.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²*Daily Delta*, July 3, 1850.

Charles continued as acting manager of the *Histrionics* until he left New Orleans for Memphis in October, 1851. He had served in that capacity faithfully and well, and the amateurs again expressed their gratitude at the close of the 1850-1851 season. On that occasion, the *Delta* published the following statement.

Benefit of J. S. Charles.—One of the most generally popular and agreeable persons connected with the stage, takes his benefit to-night. We refer to Mr. J. S. Charles, who, for several years has devoted himself with great zeal and ardor to the support of the legitimate drama in New Orleans. His labors, particularly in sustaining the Histrionic Association, entitle him to a large share of public favor and patronage. We trust that, among many others of our people, the whole Histrionic crowd will deem it their duty to attend to-night, and give their first and last manager a bumper such as he deserves.¹³

Charles undoubtedly was the guiding light of the organization. After he left New Orleans, the *Histrionics* became less and less active. Their charter granted by the state in 1848 remained good until 1874, but they were never again as active as they had been the first three years of their existence. Perhaps one reason for their inactivity, however, was the burning of the Histrionic Temple in 1852.¹⁴ The ability of the amateurs to meet the huge financial burden occasioned by their having to rent a suitable place in which to produce plays is doubtful.

The *Histrionics* is of interest to the modern student of theatre because the organization was one of the forerunners of today's community, university and little theatre projects. Generally speaking, the plays presented by the association were the tried favorites of the day. They were well-produced, wholesome entertainment, and the Temple afforded an ideal meeting place of theatre-goers and the young people of New Orleans. Although the destruction of their theatre when the group seemed to be on the way to greater success was unfortunate, amateur theatre groups today may still profit from their methods and their mistakes.

The following plays, produced during the first full season of the *Louisiana Histrionic Association*, are listed in order that the reader may judge for himself the type of plays presented by the *Histrionics*.

1. *Apostate, The*, R. L. Shiel, (tragedy), Dec. 17, 1849, June 2, 1850

¹³*Ibid.*, June 3, 1851.

¹⁴John S. Kendall, *The Golden Age of the New Orleans Theater* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952), p. 245.

2. *Bertram*, C. Maturin, (tragedy), Feb. 11, 1850
3. *Bombastes Furioso*, William Barns Rhodes, (farce), Feb. 4, 1850
4. *Day After the Wedding*, *The*, M. T. Kemble, (farce), Feb. 11, 1850
5. *Dead Shot*, J. B. Buckstone, (farce), June 1, 1850
6. *Douglas*, Hume, (tragedy), Jan. 28, 1850
7. *Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady*, J. R. Planche, (farce), Dec. 31, 1849
8. *Follies of a Night*, *The*, J. R. Planche, (farce), Dec. 31, 1849
9. *Honey Moon*, J. Tobin, (comedy), Feb. 25, 1850
10. *Hunchback*, *The*, James Sheridan Knowles, (tragedy), Dec. 3, 1849
11. *Is He Jealous?* J. S. Beazley, (farce), Dec. 10, 1849
12. *Irish Lion*, *The*, J. B. Buckstone, (farce), Dec. 10, 1849, May 14, 1850
13. *Jenny Lind*, James Poole, (comedy)
14. *London Assurance*, Dion Boucicault, (comedy), April 29, 1850, June 1, 1850
15. *Love*, James Sheridan Knowles, (romantic drama), Feb. 18, 1850
16. *Love's Sacrifice*, G. W. Lovell, (drama), Nov. 26, 1850, Feb. 4, 1850
17. *Mock Duke*, *The*, anonymous, Feb. 25, 1850
18. *Money*, Edward George Bulwer Lytton, (comedy), Jan. 21, 1850, Feb. 23, 1850
19. *New Lights*, Hugh Mann, (farce), Feb. 23, 1850
20. *Othello*, William Shakespeare, (tragedy), June 18, 1850
21. *Paul Pry*, James Poole, (comedy)
22. *Perfection*, Thomas Haynes Bayley, (farce), June 2, 1850
23. *Pleasant Neighbor*, Mrs. J. R. Planche, (farce), Jan. 19, 1850
24. *Review*, *The*, George Coleman, (comedy), Jan. 14, 1850, March 18, 1850
25. *Rivals*, *The*, Richard Sheridan, (comedy), Jan. 19, 1850, March 18, 1850
26. *School for Scandal*, *The*, Richard Sheridan, (comedy), March 25, 1850, May 30, 1850
27. *She Stoops to Conquer*, Richard Sheridan, (comedy), Nov. 12, 1849
28. *Simpson & Co.*, John Poole, (comedy), May 24, 1850, May 30, 1850
29. *Swiss Cottage*, James Haynes Bayly, (operetta?), May 14, 1850
30. *There*; or, *The Orphan of Geneva*, John Kerr, Jan. 14, 1850
31. *Venice Preserved*, Thomas Otway, (tragedy), Nov. 19, 1849
32. *Youthful Queen*, *The*, C. Shannon, (comedy), July 1, 1850

A COMPARISON OF TWO TYPES OF DELIVERY OF A PERSUASIVE SPEECH ON INTEGRATION

WILLIAM I. GORDEN

THE PURPOSE OF this study was to investigate which of two types of delivery of a speech was more persuasive. Specifically the study was designed: (1) to test the hypothesis that a conversational presentation of a speech was more persuasive than a dynamic one and (2) to discover if white college students from a rural Southern background could be persuaded on the integration issue.

The research began with a consideration of the types of persuasive speaking employed for the causes of integration and segregation in the state of Georgia. The writer observed that several of the students of this white, private college especially expressed admiration for the dynamic style prevalent among leading state politicians. The extensive study by John E. Dietrich which compared the persuasiveness of six radio speeches in dynamic and conversational styles concluded that both styles of delivery were effective, and that there was a small but consistent difference in favor of the conversational type, possibly too small a difference to be of much practical importance.¹ Would his conclusions be equally true for our region with the emotionally explosive integration issue?

The topic of the study had been dramatized by recent Negro student sit-ins and a march to the capitol building in Atlanta. The *Christian Science Monitor* stated the extent of the problem at the time of the experiment:

Some 65 southern cities have been faced with possible violence and various forms of civic strain growing out of the sit-ins. In some of these, mayors have succeeded in keeping the two sides in communication over grievances by means of biracial civic committees. But the problem is far from resolved. Uneasiness still chokes the air.²

The subject also received special attention at the Southeastern Speech Tournament held in April, 1960, at Winston-Salem, North

Mr. Gordon (Ph. D., Purdue University, 1958) is Associate Professor of Speech at Berry College, Mt. Berry, Georgia.

¹J. E. Dietrich, "The Relative Effectiveness of Two Modes of Radio Delivery in Influencing Attitudes," *Speech Monographs*, 13:58-65, 1946.

²*Christian Science Monitor* Editorial, May 14, 1960.

Carolina. Two students were selected to present their orations at the awards banquet because of their opposing points of view and contrasting styles. The first student to speak presented his appeal for states' rights in a dynamic oratorical style. The second student defended in a conversational manner federal supremacy and Negro student sit-ins.

Both the topic and styles of persuasion seemed worthy of investigation. Thus this exploratory study was developed jointly by students and instructor of an advanced speech course to promote a better understanding of contrasting styles of persuasion as related to the struggle over integration.

PROCEDURE

The research procedure involved two steps: (1) recording a persuasive manuscript delivered in two styles, dynamic and conversational, and (2) administering a shift-of-opinion ballot.

A male student from an advanced speech course was selected by the class to record the material twice, once in a dynamic and once in a conversational style as Dietrich characterized them for his experiment:

[dynamic] "great enthusiasm, considerable volume, emphatic use of downward inflection, a moderately fast rate, a slightly raised pitch, a sustension of vowels, a somewhat dramatic quality, and a basic manner of formality," [conversational] "greatly reduced dynamics, a quiet genuineness, little use of volume for emphasis, moderate rate and pitch, and an informal manner."³

The recorded material was four minutes and fifty-one seconds when presented dynamically and four minutes and fifteen seconds when read conversationally. The recordings were judged to be representative of the dynamic and the conversational styles of delivery by the investigator and students in the advanced course.

The limitation of a tape-recording was considered necessary for duplicate reproduction of the material. A recording does not constitute a live speaking situation, however, and so the conclusions are confined to this framework.

³Dietrich, *op. cit.*, Contrary to Mr. Dietrich's criterion concerning rate, several readings with each style showed the dynamic style to take a longer reading time.

The recorded material was taken from a large paid advertisement entitled "An Appeal for Human Rights" which was sponsored by the Negro college student organization from the six Negro colleges in Atlanta. The student audiences in the investigation were told only: "The following material appeared in a recent article in *The Atlanta Constitution*." The following excerpts represent the nature of the article:

Education: . . . On the university level, the state will pay a Negro to attend a school out of the state rather than admit him to the University of Georgia, Georgia Tech, and Georgia Medical School, and other tax-supported public institutions. . . . Housing: While Negroes constitute 32% of the population of Atlanta, they are forced to live within 16% of the area of the city. . . . Movies, Concerts, Restaurants: Negroes are barred from most downtown movies and segregated in the rest. Negroes must even sit in a segregated section of the Municipal Auditorium. If a Negro is hungry, his hunger must wait until he comes to a "colored" restaurant, and even his thirst must await its quenching at a "colored" water fountain. . . . [The Negroes] plan to use every legal and non-violent means at their disposal to secure full citizenship rights as members of this great Democracy of ours.⁴

The recording was played on May 21, 1960, to 106 Berry College students: 59 students, henceforth designated as group A, heard the dynamic presentation and 47, called group B, heard the conversational version of the speech. Immediately prior to playing the recording the following resolution was presented in writing to the students: "Resolved: That the Negro college students' non-violent protests such as sit-ins are justified." The students were then requested to mark their ballots in one of three categories: affirmative, undecided, and negative. These ballots were collected and the recording was then played. After the recording the students were asked to mark another ballot which was the same as the first with the two additional categories: more strongly affirmative and more strongly negative.

RESULTS

The table shows that before the tape recording the affirmative

⁴"An Appeal for Human Rights," *The Atlanta Constitution*, March 9, 1960, p. 13. Incidentally, Governor Vandiver stated that this article was too well written for college students and stated that they must have gotten help. The Governor also labeled it a "left wing statement . . . calculated to breed dissatisfaction, discontent, discord, and evil." However, Mayor William B. Hartfield of Atlanta more sympathetically stated: ". . . it performs the constructive service of letting the white community know what others are thinking."

TABLE OF RESULTS

	GROUP A	GROUP B
Before presentation of recorded material.		
Opinion of groups upon reading the resolution. (First Ballot)	59 Students	47 Students
	Percentages	Percentages
Affirmative	16.99	31.90
Undecided	35.60	27.60
Negative	47.41	40.50
After listening to the taped material (Second Ballot)		
	Dynamic Presentation	Conversational Presentation
Stronger Affirmative	13.65	14.56
Affirmative	23.65	47.16
Undecided	18.65	6.38
Negative	25.50	19.34
Stronger Negative	18.65	12.56
After: (Grouped for easier comprehension)		
Affirmative	37.30	61.72
Undecided	18.65	6.38
Negative	44.05	31.90

Chi Square Test of Significance:

(Percentage of opinion shifts are rounded to one decimal place and grouped for the Chi Square Test.)

	NEGATIVE	UNDECIDED	AFFIRMATIVE
Dynamic	3.4	16.9	20.3
Conversational	8.6	21.0	29.8

There is no significant difference at the 5 per cent level of significance.

$$\chi^2 = .46$$

category received less votes than the negative. After the recording was presented there was a definite shift toward greater affirmative sentiment and away from negative convictions. Both the dynamic and conversational styles were persuasive; however, no significant difference between the two styles was revealed by the chi square test. There was a shift from affirmative to stronger affirmative and from negative to a stronger negative: *i.e.*, it moved more people farther who fell in these groups at the onset.

DISCUSSION

This brief experiment supports the Dietrich conclusions that dynamic and conversational styles of radio (or tape) were similar

in persuasive value, even when used with the subject of race integration in a Southern white college. The data of this investigation does not support Dietrich's findings which reported a slight significant difference favoring the conversational. Of course, this one small project in no way disproves the more extensive Dietrich study. However, additional tests with various subjects and locations might well be conducted to determine whether Southern people or those in other regions are persuaded more by one style than the other.

Pedagogically, this experiment suggests an educational pattern to foster better instructor-student study of current problems in persuasion. The consensus of the advanced speech class which conducted this experiment was that motivation and teacher-student rapport were at a high level during the project.

The project from its very initiation, through gathering of data to writing, followed the "action research" approach as described by Ronald Lippitt and Marian Radke.⁵ The major assumption of "action research" is that individuals and groups can be guided to participate in a research role and that this type of research makes possible the acceptance of facts and their implications for changes in attitude which under other circumstances would be rejected or not realized. The class had an opportunity to experiment with the conversational and dynamic delivery during and following the experiment. Thus this type of study made possible a high degree of involvement for the class.

Apparently "The Appeal for Human Rights" as presented orally by a fellow student was persuasive to white college students, at least when it was separated from its Negro authorship. Further investigation of the relation of persuasion to prestige of the source in the fight for integration might prove enlightening. The author has noted, for example, that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is akin to a swear word with his students.

Negro students and leaders are systematically launching many integration fronts including schools, buses, beaches, eating places, employment, and even cemeteries.⁶ Investigation of the communi-

⁵Ronald Lippitt and Marian Radke, "New Trends in the Investigation of Prejudice," *American Minorities: A Textbook of Readings in Intergroup Relations*. Milton L. Barron, Editor. Alfred A. Knoff, Inc., New York, 1958, pp. 496-507.

⁶C. Eric Lincoln, "The Strategy of the Sit-ins." *The Reporter*, January 5, 1961, pp. 20-23.

cation media used in biracial attempts to avert violence might also suggest a profitable study.

Communication of ideas, however, between even the educated Negro and white southerner is rare. The gulf of formal separation generally prevents both Negro and white college students and faculties from sharing intellectually. The time is ripe for more "action research" to explore methods of communication to transcend this isolation. This and other exploratory experiments may help build additional effective patterns of approach for emotionally explosive situations and bridging communication gaps.



NEWS AND NOTES

DWIGHT L. FRESHLEY
Vanderbilt University

With the editorial guard duly changed, I find our newsy knights have returned from the Southern Speech Kingdom with their summer gleanings. After that fruitful and delightful convention in April, I am sure that most of us would heartily favor making Miami the capital of said Kingdom. We continue to receive glowing reports of our 1961 "Florida spring vacation." One of the most gratifying aspects of the convention was the simultaneous meeting with the South Eastern Theatre Conference. The following resolution was passed by the S.E.T.C.:

WHEREAS, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN ITS TWELVE YEARS OF HISTORY SETC HAS HAD THE PRIVILEGE AND PLEASURE OF MEETING SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE SOUTHERN SPEECH ASSOCIATION AND THE FLORIDA THEATRE CONFERENCE,

BE IT RESOLVED THAT SETC GO ON RECORD AS APPRECIATING THIS OPPORTUNITY OF MEETING IN CONFERENCE WITH THESE TWO GREAT ORGANIZATIONS IN SPEECH AND THEATRE.

Our thanks to Rosemary G. Ingham, Executive Secretary-Treasurer of S.E.T.C. for sending this via Past-President Joe Wetherby of S.S.A.

Before launching into the news, may I begin my tenure by singing an oft-repeated refrain of your previous capable, imaginative, and industrious N & N editors, Frank Davis and Don Streeter. SEND US NEWS! Send us comments on the academic or extra-curricular scenes that don't find their way into scholarly efforts but which are pertinent and important. They need not always be thorns in your academic or administrative side. They may well be roses to some effort heretofore unrewarded. My first mailing list was incomplete so help me fill in the gaps.

SUMMER ACTIVITIES

EVAN ULREY of *Harding College* spent a busy summer teaching for two five week sessions, preparing an address based upon some activities of Barton Stone whom he studied for his thesis, and even got in a bit of Michigan vacation. The *University of Arkansas* held a Forensics Workshop and a Theatre Workshop the first session of summer school, June 5 to July 14. At the *University of Georgia*, a variety of courses was offered, including Fundamentals, two correction courses, Teaching of Speech and Drama, Speech for the Elementary Modern Drama and Theatre. PAUL CAMP taught a full load from the above courses. LEIGHTON BALLEW also taught and did some research. JAMES POPOVICH was guest instructor at Bowling Green University in Ohio. RUSSELL EVERETT worked on his Ph.D. at Ohio State University and GERALD KAHAN did research. E. CLAYTON MCCARTHY reports from *Trinity University* an exciting sounding "Theatre Under Stars Series," in which one

arena full length play, *Behind the Mask*, and original one act plays were staged. Also, a high school drama workshop was held on the Trinity campus. Another theatre workshop, this one at *Arkansas State College*, did *The Potting Shed* on June 29 and 30 with SUE LINEBACK directing. After her directing stint, Sue attended the University of Arkansas the second five weeks of summer school. GIFFORD BLYTON writes that he taught a course in Persuasion and The Teaching of Speech at his bailiwick, the *University of Kentucky*, plus a short seminar for the Kentucky Labor Federation (AFL-CIO). *Morehead State College* in Kentucky held a summer speech/dramatic arts camp for high school students August 6-19. The instructors were: DONALD HOLLOWAY, Coordinator of Speech Education, Breckinridge Training School; DONALD LOUGHRIE, Coordinator of Morehead State College Theatre; Z. BRENT FRY, Coordinator of Speech at M.S.C.; and guest lecturer, ROBERT EVANS, Director of Debate, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. JAMES W. PARKER, department chairman at Converse College, acted with the new out-door drama by Kermit Hunter, *Honey in the Rock*, at Beckley, West Virginia. He also reports that ARTHUR W. MacDONALD was stage manager for *Unto These Hills*, Cherokee, N. C. From the Department of Drama and Speech at *Woman's College of the University of North Carolina* comes word that they have inaugurated a Fine Arts Institute for High School Girls which emphasizes the relatedness of dance, drama, music, and graphic arts. The Institute was limited to forty students and featured regular courses in each of the arts for all students in the mornings and individual work with one particular art in the afternoons. For the sixth summer the Department of Speech at *Texas College of Arts and Industries* offered its three week Drama Workshop for high school teachers. The course is designed to help teachers with little or no training in drama to select plays, cast, rehearse, and direct them. During the last week, class members direct scenes from one act plays using students from the Kingsville high school. Another summer program, this one in its seventh year, was the leisure-time activity, "Dramatics for Fun" at *West Miami Junior High School*. This six week program, run by DON TERRY, featured activities from 8 until 3:30 with interest groups including "Theatre-in-the-round" experimentals, one-acts, and one major production. With all the summer galavanting around, there just had to be some sojourners in European climes. From information received, it seems this lucky lot fell on Texans exclusively. P. MERVILLE LARSON, head of the speech department at *Texas Technological College*, spent the summer on a research grant in Denmark. Twelve students from that same institution went on a European Theatre Tour directed by RONALD E. SCHULZ. They travelled through nine European countries. Also, from the *University of Houston*, ESTHER EBY, associate professor of speech, toured Europe as director of an American Express tour. How we envy them all! Still in the Houston area, PAT WELCH, chairman of radio-television, taught public speaking and public reading in the Summer Session for Adults at *The Principia* in Elsa, Illinois, from August 6-19. And our old friend DON STREETER, was busy as usual directing the 9th Annual High School Speech Round-up held on the campus from July 24 through August 10. The Roundup is for high school students, for graduate and undergraduate college students, and for high school teachers. The students worked in the following areas: debate, using the 1961-2 topic; individual events of the Interscholastic League, including poetry interpretation, prose reading, extemporaneous speaking, and persuasive speaking; theatre, including duet-acting and a full length 3-act play; and radio-television, including work in the studios of KUHT. Finally, it was a varied,

interesting summer for *Auburnites* in southern Alabama. COL. WILLIAM S. SMITH, US Air Force Reserve, was senior inspection officer on several reserve unit inspection tours during the summer. CDR. FRANK DAVIS, US Coast Guard Reserve, spent two weeks on duty at the Marine Inspection Office, Mobile, Alabama. JAY SANDERS spent the summer writing on his dissertation at Northwestern University. JOHN W. GRAY started his Ph.D. program at LSU. ANN KIRBY was hostess on the Auburn television program, "Take 90" during the summer months.

APPOINTMENTS

PAUL MATTOX, formerly of Northern Illinois University, has joined the Speech Department at *Auburn*.

JOHN RYAN has been added to the speech staff at *Harding College*. He has an M.A. from the University of Illinois plus a year and a half additional study.

WILLIAM ERNST is the newly-elected technical director at *Trinity University*. He hails from Ohio.

MINOR ROOTES of San Francisco State College comes to the *Woman's College of the University of North Carolina* as Instructor in Drama and Designer-Technical Director. ROGER WILBUR of Denver University fills the newly created position of Instructor in Drama-Speech Education. He will teach creative dramatics, supervise the drama and speech program of Curry Training School, and develop suitable additional courses on the college level in this area.

Two new members will join the Speech Department at *Texas College of Arts and Industries* this fall. MRS. JOSEPHINE MORAN returns after an absence during which she studied for her Ph.D. at Northwestern. She will be Assistant Technical Director. JAMES C. PALMER, JR. will be Technical Director for one year while KEITH KENNEDY starts work on his Ph.D. at the *University of Florida*.

New staff members at *Texas Technological College* for September include: ROBERT C. DICK (forensics); CHARLES BUZZARD (radio-TV); and MRS. JUNE BEARDEN (theatre).

ERIC E. SINKKONEN has been named technical director and scene designer for the *University of Houston* theatre. He has recently completed his M.A. at San Francisco State College.

KENNETH W. PAULI, formerly of *Vanderbilt University*, has accepted a position as associate professor of speech at *Elmira College* in New York.

THEATRE

The 1961-2 Season at the *U. of Georgia* will feature: *June and the Paycock*, *The Queen and the Rebels*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *The Walls of the Toreadors*, plus student-directed and original one-acts. The *University of Arkansas* provided two shows for summer entertainment. *The Male Animal* was presented by the University Theatre on June 19-20 and was directed by A. CLEVELAND HARRISON. *Love in Spite of Papa*, a collection of scenes from different plays involving the trials of lovers from different moods and periods, was directed by GEORGE R. KERNODLE. The *University of Houston's* summer offering was Chekov's *Country Scandal*, a theatre-in-the-round production, directed by DAVID LARSON.

Here are the rest of the 1961-2 theatre bills as we have them:

Texas Colleges of Arts and Industries. The opening production of the Foot-

lights Club will be *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, directed by ALBERT E. JOHNSON.

Converse College. November, *Epitaph for George Dillon*; January, *Gigi*; March, *The Trojan Women*; April, *Private Lives*; plus several series of one-acts by the directing class and a bi-monthly television show.

Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. The opening production will be *Annie Get Your Gun* on November 1-4, directed by HERMAN MIDDLETON, with MINOR ROOTES as designer and MAYNARD FRENCH as business manager.

Texas A. & M. *Twelve Angry Men*, *Candida*, *A Tiger at the Gates*, and *The Aggie Follies*.

Vanderbilt University. *The Male Animal*, *Twelfth Night*, *Diary of Anne Frank*. JOE WRIGHT will also be directing and BOB BALDWIN designing a faculty show.

Arkansas State College. The first fall production will be a children's play, *Alice in Wonderland*, directed by SUE LINEBACK.

Trinity University. Four full length plays, one Shakespearean; two programs of new one act plays; two tour shows (full length).

Morehead State College. Two plays will be produced; direction by DONALD LOUGHRIE and DONALD HOLLOWAY.

A final note on last season from *Harding College*. They produced *Diary of Anne Frank* and *Connecticut Yankee* and a number of one-act plays. They also exchanged their *Connecticut Yankee* with Hendrix College for their *Macbeth*. Good idea!

FORENSICS

Texas A & M will hold their annual invitational debate tournament in November and attend the Southwest Conference Debate Tournament in December. *Arkansas State* debaters will attend a debate workshop early in the fall. *Trinity University* will hold a high school speech festival on its campus. Our report from *Harding College* says, "We hope to do more encouraging of intramural debate and try various styles of debating. We had good results last spring with changing questions and styles about every two weeks." From JOSH CRANE of *Palm Beach Junior College* at Lake Worth, Florida, we hear that on April 29 and 30, the college, the Communications Department, and Phi Rho Pi, Alpha Chapter (the speech honorary for junior colleges) hosted six junior colleges at the First Phi Rho Pi State Junior College Speech Tournament. Some seventy students from Palm Beach, St. Petersburg, St. Johns River, Manatee, Chipola, and Brevard Junior Colleges participated in debate, extempore speaking, interpretative reading and entertaining speaking. PHILIP CAPLAN of *Manatee*, HOWARD PELHAM of *Chipola*, C. L. OVERTURF of *St. Johns River*, and HOWARD BATESON of *Brevard* announced that they hoped to start chapters of Phi Rho Pi in their colleges next year. WATSON B. DUNCAN, III, Chairman of the Communications Departments at Palm Beach and FRANK LEAHY, Drama Chairman, assisted Josh Crane in the operation of the tournament. Josh is currently serving as Vice President of the Florida Speech Association.

PERSONAL NOTES

H. PRESTON MAGRUDER of the *University of Arkansas* is on leave in Europe doing research in technical theatre. M. BLAIR HART, department chairman, joined the National Collegiate Players Theatre Tour in Europe in

July. (A non-Texan *did* get to the continent after all!) Two *University of Georgia* students Graham Woodruff and John Davies, were with the Oregon Shakespeare Festival. GIFFORD BLYTON of *U. of Kentucky* and yours truly are working on different chapters in the revised edition of the TKA text, *Argumentation and Debate*. Gifford is also plotting a general speech text. Do you suppose he got some tips on communication those two weeks he spent on active duty with the U.S. Navy this summer? At *Texas Tech*, Professor ANNAH JOE PENDLETON retired after thirty-five years on the faculty. Professor SYLVIA D. MARINER also retired at the end of the summer. SHIRLEY M. CADLE has resigned to pursue work on a doctorate in theatre at the University of Denver. BERNARD A. LANDES has resigned to accept a position at Long Beach State College. Still in Texas, but east at *Houston* we learn that JOE COFFER, instructor in radio-television, is acting as news director and public relations director during the installation of a new AM radio station, KODA in Houston. The station is owned and operated by Paul Taft. JACK GRAVLEE, instructor in speech, has returned to LSU to complete his Ph.D. AULEY B. LUKE, assistant professor of speech, has returned from two years leave at the University of Oklahoma where he completed the course work for his Ph.D. Congratulations are in order for promotions of KATHRYN ENGLAND, director of the speech laboratory at *Woman's College, North Carolina*, who has been promoted to associate professor, and to BOB BALDWIN, assistant professor at *Vanderbilt*, who has been named director of the Vanderbilt University Theatre.

MISCELLANEOUS

FRANK DAVIS of *Auburn* will devote half of his time for the next two years directing a University self-study program. Further news of the Plainsmen reveals that our new SSA president, WILLIAM S. SMITH does not confine his organizational leadership to our profession. We have it on good authority that he was a highly successful Little League coach—winning the league no less! His colleague, BUCK RANNEY, keeps in the swim of things as he directed the Red Cross Swim Safely Program in connection with the Auburn city recreational program this summer. GERALD KAHAN reports a big program at the *University of Georgia* with plans underway for expansion of physical facilities. *Union University* of Jackson, Tennessee, had its annual awards dinner last spring at which ELIZABETH B. LOYD, director of dramatics presented Fred Cook of Jackson and Sandy Childress of Memphis as best actor and actress of the year. Actress Elaine Prather, winner of the National Miss Honey Bee title, entered the Miss Tennessee Pageant as Miss Union University. Her talent: dramatic reading. Dade County Public Schools is now publishing "Curriculum Guide for Eighth Grade Speech Enrichment," compiled and edited by DON W. TERRY of *West Miami Jr. High*. Incidentally, Don is interested in contacting other Jr. High Schools presenting programs similar to his: Speech 8th grade; Speech I, elective—9th grade—36 weeks; Dramatics I, elective—9th grade—36 weeks.



BOOK REVIEWS

CLINTON W. BRADFORD
Louisiana State University

MAKERS OF THE MODERN THEATER. By Barry Ulanov. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1961; pp. v + 743, \$6.50.

AMERICAN DRAMATIC LITERATURE. By Jordan Y. Miller. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1961; pp. xi + 641; \$6.75.

Essentially the outgrowth of a revolt against naturalism, the modern drama cannot be classified patly into pigeon-holes. Professor Ulanov believes it can be defined best by sampling, and his anthology offers a commendable sampling of twenty of its most significant dramatists. The playwrights presented range in time from Ibsen to Ionesco, and their plays range in form and content from Strindberg's *To Damascus, Part I* to Millers's *A View from the Bridge*. Some may object to the omission of certain playwrights who, although not revolutionaries, are nevertheless important to the historian of the modern theatre. Others may wonder at the choice of some of the specific representations of the playwrights' work: for example, O'Casey's *Purple Dust*, Giraudoux's *Sodom and Gomorrah* or Williams' *Camino Real*. But it would be difficult to come up with a generally more satisfactory list within the limits of the period and the publishing limitations of space; and most of the plays included are not easily found in other anthologies.

Each play is preceded by a short but stimulating introductory essay which should be very helpful to the student. There is also a list of each author's plays, his other writings, if any, and a selected bibliography. All in all, this is a most useful anthology for a course in modern drama.

Professor Miller's anthology, concerned exclusively with the American drama since 1918, is of course much narrower in scope. Only since the first World War have we developed playwrights whose work deserves serious study, and Professor Miller offers here ten American plays of this period. Whether the consideration of plays primarily as literature rather than theatre pieces is the best approach to the study of drama is highly debatable, but Professor Miller's objective is clear and, granting his premise, it is achieved with reasonable success.

The book is divided into two parts, the first of which contains a fifty-four page history of the highlights of the American theatre to 1918. Although necessarily sketchy, this account does give the student some notion of the major weaknesses of the American drama of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and of its accomplishments since 1918. Also included are a list of historically important theatrical figures, a chronology of significant events, a list of suggested topics for further investigation, a list of selected plays to 1918, and a selected bibliography to 1918—all clearly helpful to the serious student.

Part two consists primarily of the ten plays selected by Professor Miller.

They are presented not in chronological order, but rather according to what he calls "dramatic type"—a confused and confusing term as he uses it. There can be no serious quarrel with his application of the term to "modern realistic drama" (*The Little Foxes*) or to "departure from realism" (*Camino Real*). But is "the mature war play" (*Command Decision*) really a dramatic type? If so, why are not the race play, the mother play, the labor play or, for that matter, he *immature* war play, also dramatic types? For those who like labels the possibilities seem endless.

To add to the confusion, Professor Miller includes a strange olio of *genres* in his blanket use of the term. To lump together under this label such divers categories as comedy, tragedy (which really *are* dramatic types), realism, non-realism (which many critics prefer to regard as theatrical styles), and the war play and the folk play (which are merely subject matter labels), is roughly equivalent to placing under one heading such sundry items as ice cream, Thursday and matches.

Even within specific categories there appears to be some confusion. For example, four types of comedy are included: high comedy (*Biography*), "comedy with a purpose" (*The Male Animal*), "comedy of sensibility" (*The Member of the Wedding*), and fantasy (*Harvey*). To place fantasy within the category of comedy is both pointless and inaccurate. Fantasy is a style or type in itself, and embraces not only comedy but such serious modern American plays as *Bury the Dead*, *American Landscape* and *Thunder Rock*, to name only three. In addition to the four comedies, there are two fine examples of tragedy: *Desire under the Elms* and *The Crucible*. But, interestingly, both melodrama and farce are ignored as dramatic types.

Despite all this the anthology can be useful for a short course in American drama. Even if one questions the classification of types, and one or two specific play choices, the selection as a whole is perhaps as satisfactory as any, although it must be obvious that no group of ten plays can adequately present American dramatic literature of the past forty-three years. Of help to the student is the introduction to each of the plays, which includes a discussion of the play, some notes on the author and his works and, in some cases, a consideration of the play's generic progenitors. There are also pictures of productions of several of the plays, and sketches or caricatures of others. Each play is followed by a list of suggested topics for further study of the type represented.

The book is concluded with a quite good selected bibliography for the student interested in pursuing further study of American dramatic literature. Interestingly, and perhaps significantly, the bibliography includes a large number of books whose concern is the theatre rather than literature.

MONROE LIPPMAN

Tulane University

THE THEME OF LONELINESS IN MODERN AMERICAN DRAMA. By Winifred L. Dusenbury. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1960; pp. vi + 231; \$6.50.

This book is good medicine for millions of lonely Americans. If you feel lonesome and do not know why, you will find a reason here; if you do know why, you will be comforted. Professor Dusenbury here offers a book that has both appeal to the public need and critical worth to serious students of drama who want careful analysis and sound documentation.

The proverbial rugged American pioneer who moved over the mountain

to be left alone appears now to have had enough of it. Somewhere along the line he lost his sense of self-sufficiency, did an about face, and now seeks to become an "organization man." Believing that American loneliness has its peculiar manifestations, Professor Dusenbury reviews some of the modern literature on the theme written by sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists, and finds her definition in the English tradition in Theodore Spencer's *Sewanee Review* (1914) article. "The Isolation of the Shakespearean Hero." Here loneliness is described as a "suffering self-recognition of separateness." With this definition in mind, the author limits herself to American plays that, in her opinion, best set forth the causes of our "suffering self-recognition of separateness."

Eighteen playwrights are chosen and twenty-six of their plays studied. Seven major causes of loneliness are discovered: personal failure, homelessness, the unhappy family, the failure of a love affair, socio-economic forces (with special focus on the South), conflict between the material and the spiritual, and the lonely hero. The author examines each playwright's method of dealing with the theme. In so doing she tells vividly the story of each play, and gives copious, direct quotations for illustration.

Professor Dusenbury apparently believes O'Neill to be the chief developer of the theme, since six of his plays are used as illustrative examples in different categories, while two each of Hellman's and Williams' are included as representative of loneliness due to socio-economic forces in the South. The author does not include a play by Wilder, explaining that he is an exception among outstanding American playwrights since he portrays the American as feeling at home in his environment.

The reader who is familiar with modern American drama may be prepared to submit a different set of plays to illustrate the theme of loneliness, and may also find in them a different set of causes for loneliness. These facts, however, do not necessarily detract from the author's contribution. Somewhat more distracting to this reviewer are the repetitive mechanics obligatory in the author's categorical approach to her subject.

Some American playwrights, especially O'Neill and Williams, says the author, have attempted to explore conflicts between our primitive myths and our much later Judeo-Christian ones, but the public has not responded favorably probably due to their lack of general knowledge of our primitive myths. And, because of this lack of knowledge, writes Professor Dusenbury, "Perhaps the most deepseated of the causes of loneliness today have not been exhumed. . . ." Here Professor Dusenbury points to a field for exploration that might vastly enrich our understandings of our human nature and thus open the way for future playwrights to write the great American drama.

The general reader may be pleased to find that the author's notes and references appear at the end of the book rather than in footnotes. These are followed by an ample bibliography and a comprehensive index, both of which will appeal to the research-minded student.

VIRGIL L. BAKER

University of Arkansas

SPEECH: ITS TECHNIQUES AND DISCIPLINES IN A FREE SOCIETY. By William Norwood Brigrance. Second Edition. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1961; pp. xii + 576; \$5.50.

To adapt to students in the 1960's by removing dated material, to include significant new discoveries on the nature of persuasion, and, finally, to gain the

personal satisfaction of doing a better job, are the three reasons given by Brigrance for the revision of this significant text. He has, in the main, achieved these goals.

The second edition is almost identical with the first in outline. It has the same six major divisions and twenty-three chapters, whose titles vary only slightly from those in the original. There are the familiar sections on "Getting Started," "The Audience," "The Speech," "The Speaker," "Occasions and Forms," and "The Influence of Speechmaking." The "seven lamps of planning a speech" are still included as are chapters on ethical persuasion, discussion, and parliamentary procedure. Even the chapter subheads and statements of principles have seldom been re-worded. The skeleton is truly the same.

But the flesh on the bones is indeed different. There are new examples, new sample outlines, and new specimen speeches. Material has been rearranged so that the new chapters generally begin with an interesting-arousing anecdote or a stimulating quotation. For example, the original Chapter Six begins, "You have now studied certain elementary aspects of speech-making. . . ." The new chapter opens with, "'Does America need a hearing aid?' asked Robert Redfield. . . ."

A significant citing of recent research marks many of the chapters. Not only has the author combed the speech journals for new discoveries, but he has investigated a wide range of other periodical literature including the *American Journal of Sociology*, the *American Sociological Review*, the *London Times*, the *Journalism Quarterly*, the *Public Opinion Quarterly*, and the *Scientific American*. There are references to Vance Packard's popular studies and to lesser known works such as *Experiments on Mass Communication* by Hovland, Lumsdaine, and Sheffield.

In comparison with the handsome first edition, the chief disappointment with the new edition is its make-up and composition. The type style is not as clear, inking is not always even, the pages look more crowded, and the full-page photographic introduction to each chapter has been removed.

The writing exemplifies the author's own dictum that "vividness is the *sine qua non* of . . . style." The text continues to be highly readable and rhetorically sound. It is a meritorious book, worthy of consideration for an introductory course in public speaking or a fundamentals course stressing public speaking activities.

MARY LOUISE GEHRING

Stetson University

LEVELS OF KNOWING AND EXISTENCE. By Harry Weinberg. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959; pp. xiv + 274; Text Edition, \$3.25.

In the introductory chapter, the author states ". . . I shall present part of semantics theory and methodology, together with some of my own thinking about it and the uses to which I have put it." The theory comes largely from Korzybski's *Science and Sanity*. The author's "thinking" refines this basic theory and brings some new material into focus. Semantotherapy, religion, and cybernetics are areas in which the author puts his theory to use.

The reader can expect a sound introduction to the standard topics of general semantics: fact and inference, language limitations, abstracting, process thinking, values, dating, indexing, etc. Korzybski's structural differential is presented in modified form and discussed in some detail. The map is not the territory.

The importance of a book of this type is difficult to assess. In the preface,

the author retraces the profound effect of *Science and Sanity* on his thinking and his life course. The effect of general semantics on the person who has not previously considered the levels of knowing is often dramatic, and therein lies a certain educational value. However, if one has read Korzybski, Johnson, and Lee, relatively little new material is to be found in this book.

In 1933, two noteworthy books dealing with man talking were published. The influence of both books has been considerable, but the results of their influence have been quite different. Korzybski's *Science and Sanity* has been followed by books by Chase, Lee, Johnson, and others. There has been little, if any, systematic testing of the Korzybski ideas. The writers on this subject have largely attempted to apply and sell general semantics. In strong contrast, Bloomfield's *Language* has generated a substantial body of careful and productive research. Hill's *Introduction to Linguistic Structures*, as one instance, grows out of Bloomfield's work, but the intervening body of research by Bloch, Trager, Smith, Hockett, and many others, permits a refining of Bloomfield's original concepts.

Writing in *Etc.* in 1950, Lee urged students of general semantics to do basic research. Judging from the pages of *Etc.*, his advice has not been widely heeded. A book published in 1959 does not reflect the research Lee advocated.

The map Korzybski provided for the territory of general semantics has been little modified by the kinds of examination he advocated for other matters. When the principles of general semantics are subjected to refinement through systematic testing, a map may well result which will be of greater use to general semantic supporters and to those who would then wish to join them in the quest for "reliable knowledge."

L. S. HARMS

Louisiana State University

STUTTERING AND WHAT YOU CAN DO ABOUT IT. By Wendell Johnson. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961; pp. ix + 208; \$3.95.

"This book is for parents who are afraid their children are going to grow up to be stutterers, for speakers who have grown up to be stutterers, and for all who see in stuttering one of the most interesting and distinctively human of the quandaries of man." This direct quotation from *Stuttering and What You Can Do about It*, by Wendell Johnson, defines the segment of the reading population for whom the book provides hope and help.

The first nine chapters report the laboratory research and clinical observation on the onset and development of stuttering which has been conducted at the University of Iowa since 1934. But the author does more than report facts and figures. The reader, whether he be layman or professional, experiences an adventure into the mystery of stuttering and emerges with a feeling of hope. Johnson reiterates that the facts about stuttering are very hopeful and full of promise. "They indicate that parents who feel that their children are stuttering have good grounds for believing that they are like other children who are regarded by their parents as normal speakers." The author concludes that the facts offer promise that stuttering can be prevented.

Chapter 10 provides parents with practical suggestions on what they can do to help their stuttering children. This chapter also would be of value to nursery school and elementary teachers who want to know how to help the stuttering pupil in the classroom. The last chapter in the book is addressed to the adult stutterer and suggests how he might go about helping himself. Here Johnson gives recognition to the fact that the advice he is giving the

adult stutterer may be biased by his own personal experience with the problem of stuttering.

The book carries the authority of the personal experience of an eminent scholar. The interpretation of the facts of stuttering is woven into a language style which is simple and persuasive. The organization of the book seems to anticipate the questions of the reader. The person who reads the book will enjoy a therapeutic experience. This book is a most valuable contribution to the speech clinician's armanentarium.

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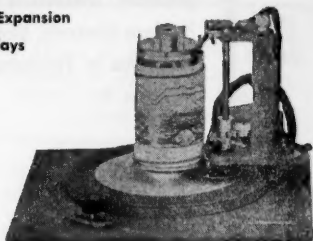
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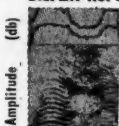
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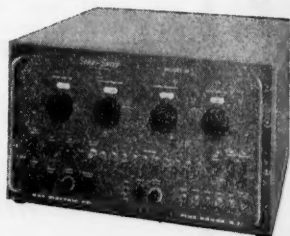
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